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THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY.

VOLUME THE FIRST:

CONTAINING,

REGISTER AND CHRONICLE OF THE ABBEY OF ABERCONWAY.

CHRONICLE OF THE REBELLION IN LINCOLNSHIRE, IN 1470.

BULL OF POPE INNOCENT VIII. ON THE MARRIAGE OF HENRY VII. WITH ELIZABETH OF YORK.

JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF ROUEN, IN 1591.

LETTER OF GEORGE FLEETWOOD, DESCRIBING THE BATTLE OF LUTZEN AND DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

DIARY OF DR. EDWARD LAKE, CHAPLAIN AND TUTOR TO THE PRINCESSES MARY AND ANNE, 1677—1678.

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M.DCCC.XL.VII.

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REGISTER AND CHRONICLE

OF THE

ABBEY OF ABERCONWAY;

FROM THE HARLEIAN MS. 3725.

EDITED BY

SIR HENRY ELLIS.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XL.VII.

The Harleian Manuscript from which this Register has been transcribed, in the early part relates to the Monastery of Hayles in Gloucestershire. What relates to Aberconway begins at the folio 40, b. The whole Manuscript came into Lord Oxford's possession in 1723.

The Editor suspects, from a passage in Humphry Wanley's Diary, that it was purchased with several others of Mr. Batteley. In one part, page 14, from the sense, a leaf appears to be wanting.

The Cistercian Abbey of Aberconway was founded in 1186 to the honor of the blessed Virgin Mary and All Saints by Llewellin the son of Gervase, or as he is more usually called Llewellin ap Jorwerth, Prince of North Wales.

It continued upon its first Site till the year 1283, when Edward the First, among the changes which he made at Conway, becoming the patron of the Monks, removed their foundation to Maynan in Denbighshire, a place about three miles distant, where he built for them another House, and to their ancient possessions and privileges added new ones of no inconsiderable extent. The change was confirmed in a bull by Pope Nicholas the Fourth in 1289. The new Abbey, however, still retained its antient name of Conway, and was so called even to the time of its Dissolution under Henry the Eighth.

In the 13th of John the Abbot had a licence to purchase lands in Worcestershire to the value of six hundred marks.

The additional MS. in the British Museum, No. 15,663, fol. 34, contains an office-translation, from the Tower, of the Inspeximus charter to this Abbey of the 6th of Edward the Third; and the previous volume of the same Collection, a full translation of the Ministers' Accompts relating to it in the 27th and 28th of Henry the Eighth.

In the 12th Edw. I., when the Abbey was translated, it was ordained that the Church of Aberconway should be furnished with three Chaplains: two were to be Englishmen; the third a Welshman, "propter idiomatis diversitatem."

David Owen was Abbot of Aberconway in the 1st of Henry VIII.

Hugh Price, Abbot of Aberconway, was buried at Saffron Walden in Essex, in 1521.

The last Abbot was Richard ap Rhys or Kiffyn, who had a pension of £20 a year.

The Site of Aberconway was granted in the 5th of Queen Elizabeth to Elizeus Wynne, whose descendants still possess it. A Family-Mansion was built from the materials of its ruins.

THE

REGISTER AND CHRONICLE

OF THE

ABBEY OF ABERCONWAY.

Post Karolum regnavit in Britania Caduanus. Post Caduanum Cadwallanus. Tempore vero Cadwallani fuit tanta caristia, tantæ pestilentiæ, et tanta fames invalescebat quod magnates mutuo se amplexantes submerserunt se in aquis. Cui dictum est in voce per angelum quod filius ejus expelleret seipsum de regno, et quod moriturus esset Romæ, et quod deberet numerari in decatalogo Sanctorum. Qui quidem rex quæsivit causam tanti mali in regno suo. Cui respondens Angelus dixit, Negligentia prelatorum; Rapina potentum; Cupiditas Judicum; detestanda Luxuria; Rabies perjuriorum; inordinatus Cultus Vestimentorum.

Post Cadwallanum regnavit Kadwalladrus filius ejus. Iste Kadwalladrus, cognomine Benedictus, regnavit modico tempore, sed tum propter mortalitatem quo populum suum fere devastabat, tum propter diversas persecutiones quas patiebatur assidue per Saxones barbaricos, reliquid * regnum suum. Minorem Britanniam petiit. Ibique post intervallum temporis congregavit magnum exercitum ut rediret et expelleret externas nationes a regno

* *Sc.* reliquit.

suo. Cui nunciatum est per Angelum ut a proprio suo desisteret. Nolebat enim Deus Britones in Insula Britanniæ diutius regnare antequam tempus venisset quod Merlinus Arthuro prophetaverat. Precepit illi etiam ut Romam ad Sergium Papam iret, et ibi, peracta penitentia, inter beatos annumeretur. Dicebat etiam populum Britannicum per meritum fidei sui insulam in futurum adepturum. Tunc Cadwalladrus, abjectis mundialibus, propter Deum venit Romam, et ibi a Sergio Papa confirmatus, in optimo langore correctus est, & xxij. kal. Maij Anno domini CCC.lxxxix. a contagione carnis solutus est. Bardi enim Kambrenses istam opinionem firmiter tenent, quod cum ossa Cadwalladri in terra suscitarentur Britones pristinæ potestati quam habuerunt per promissionem Angeli restaurantur.

Post Kadwalladrum reliquiæ Britonum perdiderunt nomen suum et regnum. Jam non vocantur Britones sed Wallenses. Tantam inquietationem patiebantur per barbaricos Saxones quod non potuerunt eis amplius resistere, et sic debilitati petierunt Cambriam, modo Walliam; et ibi per multa tempora regebantur per Principes generis sui, regebantur enim omnes per unum Principem solum usque ad tempus Rothri vawr, i. Rodrici magni. Iste Rodricus magnus regebat totam Walliam tempore suo. Post cujus mortem iij. filii ejus, videlicet Merwynus Anarand et Cadell diviserunt inter se totam Walliam in iij. partes, Merthwin principatum Gwyneth, i. Northwalliam, Anarand principatum Powysiæ, Cadell principatum de Henparth, i. Sowthwalliam; unusquisque istorum cum posteris suis regebat partem suam ut Princeps post multos annos. Et postquam multi anni essent evoluti, istæ duæ partes, videlicet Powysia et Sowthwallia, perdiderunt nomen Principis sui et Principatus. Princeps vero Northwalliæ reassumpsit nomen integrum tocius Principatus Walliæ, quo gaudebat usque cum posteris suis usque ad Lewelinum Principem Wap gruff' Wap ll. Wap Jerwarth Droyndon, post cujus mortem nullum hucusque habuerunt Principem de genere suo sicut manifeste sequentibus declarabitur.

Anno Domini Millesimo Centesimo lxx. Owynus ap Gruff princeps Poywysiæ dominus de Keueliauc fundavit Monasterium de Strattamarcella, Cisterciensis Ordinis, in quo ipse jam prope summo altare quod parte boriali jacet sepultus, et hoc est ephitafium ejus.

Ecclesiæ cultor jacet hic heu major Owynus
Hostibus insultor, genuit quem ipse Griffinus.

Eodem anno Thomas Beket Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis iiij. kał Januarii in basilica sedis suæ gladio percussus migravit ad dominum. Anno regni regis Henrici secundi post Conquestum Angliæ, sicut istæ versus declarant,

Anno milleno Centeno septuageno
Anglorum primas corruit ense Thomas.

Anno Domini Millesimo Centesimo lxxxvj. nono kalendas Augusti fundatum est Monasterium de Aberconwey Cisterciensis Ordinis in episcopatu Bang. regnante super Angliam domino Henrico filio Matildis imperatricis Anno regni ejus lx.

Notum sit omnibus Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis tam presentibus quam futuris quod Ego * Kynan filius, Northwalliæ princeps, intuitu divinæ pietatis, pro salute animæ meæ et antecessorum meorum, dedi et concessi in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo beatæ Mariæ et Monachis de Aberconwey, sub Ordine Cisterciēn Deo famulantibus, Kelliuioc cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, Rudgaer cum omnibus finibus suis, Stawenan cum finibus et omnibus pertinentiis suis, et molendinum de Talepont. Et volo ut idem monachi, tam presentes quam futuri, omnes prenominatas terras cum omnibus ad eas pertinentibus in perpetuam elemosinam possideant bene et quiete, et libere, in pace, plenarie, integre et honorifice, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pasturis, in aquis et molendinis, cum omnibus libertatibus solitis et liberis ab omni

* *Here is an erasure. Humphrey Wanley has written in the margin* Lewelinus ap

terreno servitio et exactione seculari. Ut autem hæc mea donatio et concessio imperpetuum firma permaneat eam presentis cartæ munimine et sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus, Owyn ap Eduywan, Teg̃ ap Robert, Cadwen Jeweryth ffilio, Howelo Ydrys filio, et multis aliis. Datum apud Porthaethay' Anno ab incarnatione domini Millesimo. C. Mense Junii.

Post istum Lewelinum wap Kynan regebat Principatum Northwalliæ Owynus Gwyneth ap Gruff' filius ejus. Deinde David ap Owen ap Gruff'.

In Insula de Anglesia Cowrnoylis	xiij^{li}. ij^{s}.
Itm̃ Bobgedwid	xij^{li}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}.
Kellyuiok	x^{li}. xvj^{s}. viij^{d}.
Penmynyd	iiij^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.
Itm̃ Molendinum aquaticum in Manerio de Cowrnylis	x^{s}.
Itm̃ unum teñ iuxta Bellum Moriscum	v^{s}.
Itm̃ y kae mawr	xl^{s}.
Itm̃ Nañhoynayn	xxj^{li}. xviij^{s}. iiij^{d}.
Itm̃ Come	v^{li}.
Itm̃ Nankaƚƚ	xl^{s}.
Itm̃ Redinoc velyn	xxvj^{s}. viij^{d}.
Itm̃ Arthe mynethe	xiij^{li}.
Itm̃ Maynan	ix^{li}.
Itm̃ Creuthyn	xxxiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.
Itm̃ teñ in Bangor	vj^{s}. viij^{d}.
Itm̃ in Cestr'	vj^{s}. viij^{d}.
Itm̃ teñ in Conway.	
Itm̃ Molendinum ventriticum.	
Itm̃ aƚ Molendinum aquaticum juxta Monasterium.	
Itm̃ Ecclesia de Vagħ	xij. marc.
Itm̃ Ecclesia Sancti Patricij	v. marc.
Itm̃ Ecclesia de Rose	x. marc.
Itm̃ Ecclesia de Conway	iij^{li}.

Itm̃ Capella de y gyvichy . . .	xl^{s}.
In Comot. Mevenith . . .	xx^{li}.
Itm̃ in Comot' Pennarth . . .	xx^{li}. xx^{d}. exc̃.
Itm̃ in Cũwstwith	viij^{li}.
Itm̃ in Blaen ayron	vj^{li}.
Itm̃ in Havodwen	vj^{li}.
Itm̃ in Ruhrniok	v^{li}.
Itm̃ in Nantvay	viij^{li}.
Itm̃ in Comottewthur	vj^{li}.
It̃ Aberdehonwy cum Ken . . .	vj^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.
Itm̃ Dywarthen	xxxiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.
Itm̃ Morua Vichan	iiij^{li}. xiij^{s}.
Itm̃ Aber Mywł	x^{li}. iiij^{d}.
Itm̃ Ecclesia de llangirak . . .	xx^{li}.
Itm̃ Ecclesia de Pencarrek . . .	x^{li}.

Pennarth	xxviij troc̃.
Mevenith	lxxxxij troc̃.
Blaen Ayron	lxxxviij troc̃.
Havodwen	CCxxxij troc̃.
Hanhvniok	xlviij. troc̃.
Morva Mawr	Clxxxxij troc̃.
Morva Vych^{a}n	xij troc̃.
Y dewarchen	quinque nobł.
Commot̃ devddo^{r}	vj^{li}.

Anno domini Millesimo Centesimo lxxxx, Regnante Ricardo vocato Cor de lyon rege super Angliam, primo die Januarii, hoc est die Circumsisionis domini, Lewelinus ap Jerwarth Droyndun David ap Owen principem suum suffocavit et occidit apud Aber, et sic Principatum tocius Northwalliæ super se assumpsit, qui et diversas possessiones contulit Abbati et Monachis Monasterii de Aberconwey cum libertatibus subscriptis. Johannes filius Henrici secundi illustris regis Angliæ, qui quidem

Johannes Anno domini Millesimo Centesimo Nonagesimo ix. apud Westm̃ coronatus erat in regem Angliæ, duxit copiosum exercitum in Walliam contra Lewellinum ap Jerwarth Droyndun usque ad Snowdon, ubi ipse Lewellinus cum dicto rege Angliæ pacificatur, factoque ei homagio et datis obsidibus, et terris multis, cum decem milibus vaccis, rex illuc Castella plura fundavit, et in Angliam reversus est.

Johannes Dei gratia Rex Angliæ Dominus Hiberniæ Dux Normanniæ et Comes Andegaviæ, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, et omnibus Ballivis suis Angliæ et Walliæ, et totius terræ suæ, et Portuum Maris, salutem. Sciatis quod suscepimus in manum et protectionem nostram Abbatiam de Aberconwey, et Monachos Ordinis Cisterciensis ibidem Deo servientes, et omnes res et possessiones suas. Et ideo precipimus quod Abbatiam illam et monachos in eadem servientes, et omnes res et possessiones suas, et omnia quæ ad eos spectant, custodiatis et manuteneatis sicut nostra propria, ne quis eis de aliquo molestiam vel injuriam aut gravamen faciat. Et firmam pacem habeant, et quieti sint de tholonio, et passio, et paagio, et pontagio, et omni consuetudine quæ ad nos pertinent per totam terram nostram, et talem inde quietantiam habeant de omnibus quæ ipsi vel famuli et servientes sui poterunt assecurare, sua esse propria, qualem alii monachi habent de Ordine Cisterciensi. Et prohibemus ne quis eis super hoc veracionem * vel injuriam aut gravamen inferre presumat, super foros facturam nostram, sicut Carta Henrici Regis patris nostri rationabiliter testatur. Teste Petro de Pratellis. Engelranum de pratellis. Petro de Stokys. Datum per manum Archidiaconi Welleñ. apud Mountford, primo die Aprilis Anno regni nostri tercii.

Anno domini Millesimo .CC.vi. Lewellinus ap Jerwarth Droyndun princeps Northwalliæ Dominam Isabellam filiam Johannis Regis Anglie illustris duxit in uxorem.

* *Sic in orig.*

Iste Lewellinus sepultus est in Monasterio de Aberconwey Cisterciensis Ordinis coram summo altare; cui largas libertates et amplas possessiones dedit.

Anno domini Millesimo .CC.xxx. Lewellinus Princeps Northwallie multum infestavit totam Walliam extra fines suos, ita quod ecclesiis parceret. Contra quem Henricus rex Angliæ cum grande exercitu ivit et firmavit Castrum Manđ. relictis tamen illic qui custodirent illud multis, tam militibus quam servientibus, omnes finitimas partes quas potuit accendit.

Anno domini Millesimo .CC.xl. primo. Henricus tertius a Conquestu Rex Angliæ adivit partes Marchiæ, cum exercitu suo, contra David ap łł. sed David misit se in interiora loca. Et rex Angliæ cum exercitu magno persecutus est eum versus Snowdon. Quod videns David, subjecit se regi Angliæ et omnia sua, et reddit ei in obsidem Griffinum ap łł fratrem suum quem Rex incarceravit Londoñ, sed ipse Griffinus paucos dies in turre Londoniarum collum suum rupit.

Anno domini Millesimo .CC.lxxvii. orta est gwerra inter dominum Edwardum Regem Angliæ post conquestum Angliæ dictum Longescankes et Wallenses. In qua quidem gwerra rex insulam de Anglesey cepit. Et Lewellinus ap Gruffith ap łł ap Jerwarth Droindun Princeps Northwalliæ tandem ad pacem regis se humiliter reddit, et ad Parliamentum dicti Regis London postea venit et Homagium fecit Regi, atque convivium ibidem permaximum tenuit.

Anno domini Millesimo .CC.lxxviij. Lewellinus ap Gruffuđ Princeps Northwalliæ, presente domino Edwardo vocato Longescankes Rege Angliæ, atque domina regina, necnon Edmundo comite Cornubiæ et aliis quam pluribus regni Angliæ magnatibus, Alienoram filiam Simonis Montis fortis comitis Leycestriæ et dicti Regis consangwineam apud Wygorniam duxit in uxorem. Eodem quoque anno, tempore æstivo, videlicet in festo Sancti Petri quod dicitur ad vincula, facta sunt statuta Gloverniæ in Castro ejusdem villæ.

Anno domini Millesimo .CC.lxxix. Orta est gwerra inopinata in Wallia. Nam David ap Gruffud frater Lewelini principis Walliæ, undecimo kalł. Aprilis qui tunc erat dies Palmarum, Rogerum Clifford cepit, et cæteros quamplures interfecit, et Castrum de Flynt et Ruthland obsedit. Iste David domino Regi Edwardo ante hoc factum specialissimus fuit.

Anno domini Millesimo .CC.lxxxij. Dominus Edwardus Longescankes Rex Angliæ duxit exercitum in Walliam et obsessores castrorum de Flynt viriliter ammovit, et ipse ibidem cum suis aliquamdiu permansit.

Anno domini Millesimo .CC.lxxxij. Lewellinus ap Gruffuđ ap łł ap Jerwarth Droyndun Princeps Northwał tercio idus Septembris, nocte, per Eadmundum de Mortuo mari, imaginata fraude, captus et interfectus, atque decollatus est apud Beelte. Cujus caput Londonias fuit missum, et super turrem affixum. Igitur Wallenses territi sunt et turbati ultra modum de morte prædicti Principis, reddiderunt domino Edwardo Regi Angliæ omnia Castra Northwalliæ, una cum portiuncula pretiosæ Crucis Dominicæ, Cambriæ vero, dicta Cros de Neth̄, cum multis aliis famosis reliquiis. Reddiderunt etiam Coronam famosissimi Arthuri quondam regis Britanniæ; et sic gloria Walliæ et etiam Wallencium regibus et magnatibus Angliæ translata est.

In anno sequenti, videlicet Anno domini Millesimo .CC.lxxxiij. David ap Gruff', frater ejusdem Lewellini Principis, circa Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ capitur, et apud Ruthlanđ ducitur, ubi carcerali custodia detinebatur usque ad festum Beati Michaelis Archangeli. Et sic de Ruthlande usque Amoythie id est Salopiam perducitur, ibique judicio Baronum Angliæ primo usque ad patibulum equis trahitur, secundo suspenditur, tertio se minimis decollatur, quia pacis Regis erat contemptor, quarto evisceratur et viscera ejus concremantur quia Catholicæ fidei et Ecclesiæ inimicus ac Justorum interfector, quinto corpus ejus in quatuor partes dividitur et per quatuor partes regni Angliæ suspenditur quia pacis regni erat perturbator, sexto caput ejus Londoñ mittitur

atque super turrem juxta caput Lewellini fratris sui defigitur, ut ejus exemplo cæteri proditores terreantur et in signum quod Rex justus est et proditorum extirpator. Hoc judicium quinto nonas Octobris factum fuit, et eodem die plene executum. Volens itaque Edwardus dictus longescankes rex Angliæ Walliam plus solito firmare, Abbathiam de Abberconwey Cisterciensis Ordinis juxta introitum Snowdon factam ammovit, et castrum et villam ibi construxit. Monachis vero situm alterum videlicet Maynan et expensas largas ad nova edificia dedit: ac omnes possessiones quas prius habuerunt et imposterum adquirere possent concessit, et libertates inauditas eis et successoribus eorum concessit. Eodem quoque Anno Rex prenominatus construxit Castrum de Karnarvon.

Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Dominus Hiberniæ et Dux Aquitaniæ, &c. Sciatis nos pro salute animæ nostræ et animabus antecessorum nostrorum et heredum nostrorum regni Angliæ, concessisse pro nobis et heredibus nostris dilectis nobis in Christo Abbati et Conventui de Maynan veterem Ecclesiam de Abberconwey quam prius habuerunt et tenuerunt conventualem de cætero habeant et teneant parochialem sibi et successoribus in proprios usus imperpetuum, cum decimis et oblacionibus et aliis ad Ecclesiam illam de jure parochiali pertinentibus, ita tamen quod ipsi eidem Ecclesiæ per vicarium et alios Ecclesiæ ministros ydoneos capellanum honestum Wallensem propter ydeomatum diversitatem. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod prædicti Abbas et Conventus et successores sui imperpetuum habeant et teneant prædictam Ecclesiam de Abberconwey quam prius conventualem habuerunt et tenuerunt de cetero habeant et teneant quantum in nobis est in proprios usus parochialem cum omni jure patronatus sibi et successoribus suis in perpetuam elemosinam, cum omnibus juribus et possessionibus et rebus aliis ad prædictam Ecclesiam parochialem spectañ quocumque nomine censeatur, tam infra muros quam extra, cum omnibus decimationibus omnium

terrarum et maris ex utraque de Conwey ad prefatam Ecclesiam de Aberconwey spectantibus ab antiquo. Ita tamen quod, &c. Hiis testibus, venerabili patre Roberto Bathoñ et Welleñ Episcopo, Henrico de Laci Comite Lincolñ, Ricardo Burḡ Comite Ultoñ, &c. Dat. apud Carñ. xvj° die Julij Anno regni nostri

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hyberniæ, Dux Aquitaniæ, Omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint Salutem. Sciatis quod cum venerabilis pater Anianus, Assaveñ episcopus, pro se et successoribus suis ad instantiam nostram dederit et concesserit dilectis nobis in Christo Abbati et Conventui Monasterii de Aberconwey, et eorum successoribus, quod quidem Monasterium nunc est situm Maynan, Advocationem Ecclesiæ de Eglwyswath quæ ad præfatum Episcopum pertinuit, prout in scriptis dictis Abbati et Conventui inde confecto plenius continetur. Nos dicto episcopo donationem illam compensare volentes, dedimus et concessimus eidem advocationem Ecclesiæ de Ruthlande, habendam sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum, absque reclamatione nostri vel heredum aut successorum nostrorum quorumcumque. Ita tamen quod si nos vel heredes aut successores nostros quoscumque contingat advocationem prædictæ Ecclesiæ de Ruthlande ab ipso episcopo vel successoribus suis casu aliquo retractare, licet præfat̃ Episcopo et successoribus suis Advocationem prædictæ Ecclesiæ de Eglwys Wath a præfat̃ Abb̃ et Conventu totaliter revocare. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Aberconwey decimo die Octobris Anno regni nostri duodecimo.

Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Angliæ &c. Sciatis quod in recompensationem unius mesuagii et unius particulæ terræ in Penlassok quæ Tuderius ap Garwette in manus nostras reddidit quiete de se et heredibus suis imperpetuum, et quæ dilectis nobis in Christo Abbati et Conventui de Abberconwey, quarum Monasterium apud Maynan fundamus, in liberam et puram elemosinam contulimus,

dedimus et concessimus prefato Tudero decem solidat̃ terræ cum pertineñ in Crethyn, habenđ et tenenđ sibi et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris imperpetuum, faciend inde servitia debita et consueta. In cujus rei testimonium.

In primis in campis dđ ap Tuđ Taylor . . . v. ũg

Itm̃ in Kevynkelynnocke . . . . . . iiij. ũg.

Itm̃ in Bryn y vrane . . . . . . iij ũg.

It̃ in campo Gruff ap Robyn . . . . i. ṽg & dĩ.

Itm̃ in illo loco ubi domus dompni Dauid olim erat . . . . ij. ũg & dĩ.

Itm̃ in Bulth y gerwyn . . . . . . iiij. ũg.

Itm̃ in ƚletir Clochytħ i bren y gofe . . . ij. ũg.

Itm̃ in diffren inter terras Gruff' ap Robyn et terras Dauid ap Tona, et hoc est abbuttañ super gweirgledd y thwaley . . . . . . ij. ũg.

Itm̃ per easdem terras inter terram Hvgonis Conwey et terram Gruffini Gethyn . . . ij. ũg.

Itm̃ alia parcella jacens versus eundem pratum inter Lewelinum ap Jeuñ ap Egñ et erwr̃ groes . ij. ũg.

Itm̃ in loco ubi erat olim horrium pro granis in llemdire . . . . j. ũg.

Itm̃ inter Gruff' ap Robyn et Dauid Gethyn in silva . . . . ij. virg̃.

Itm̃ apud Pennant ad tenementum Johannis ap Jeuñ ap Howeƚ . . . . vij. virg̃.

Itm̃ inter terras Gruff' ap Robyn et David ap Tuder taylor in Keuynkelynnocke . . . . j. ũg. et dim.

Abbas et Conventus fundati* fuerunt ad respondendum domino principi Walliæ de placito quo war̃ clamant habere sok et sak, tol

* *Sic in orig. f.* summoniti.

et them, infangentheff et utfangentheff, homsokenne, Gryuthbruch, Blodwyte, ffyttewyte, fferewyth, hongewyth, Leirwyth, fflemenfrith, et quietos esse de Murdredo, latrocinio, fforstall, horedel, horest, infra tempus et extra, in omnibus locis et omnibus causis quæ sunt vel esse possunt, et de omnibus misericordiis. Et quod ipsi et omnes homines sui liberi sint ab omni theloneo, passagio, paagio, pontagio, scotto, et Gildo, et omnibus auxiliis Regum, Vicecomitum, et omnium ministralium eorum, et de hidagio, carucagio, denegild, et hornegild, et exercitibus, scutagiis, tallagiis, lestagiis, stallagiis, schiris, assisis, et assartis, de wasto nemorum, meremio cariando, armis portandis, thesauris portandis, Chaceis, establiis, scotall regum, de perpresturis, hundred, Wapentake, placita et querel, warda, wardepeny, et de operibus Castellorum, parcarum, pontium, et de clausuris, et de omnibus carragiis, summagiis, arreragiis, passagiis, muragiis, domorum Principum edificatione, et de omnimoda operatione, absque hoc quod bosci eorum ad opera prædicta vel ad aliqua alia capiantur, seu quod blada sua vel hominum suorum ad Castella munienda capiantur, et etiam quod omnia tenementa eorum, tam in bosco quam in plano, sint deforestata et extra omnem potestatem forestarum.

Et quod idem Abbas et monachi, homines et servi sui, sint liberi et quieti de omni theloneo in omni foro et in omnibus nundinis, et in omni transitu portuum marium et maris per omnem potestatem et per omnes terras in quibus Dominus Edwardus Rex Angliæ xxiij die mensis Octobris Anno Regni sui xij. eis libertatem dare potuit, et in omnibus terris domini Principis.

Et quod omnia Mercata sua et hominum suorum sint similiter in predictis locis ab omni theloneo quieti, et quod naves eorundem Abbatis et Monachorum liberum transitum per omnem potestatem prædictam habeant absque omni exactione et consuetudine.

Et quod iidem Abbas et Monachi sint liberi et quieti ab omnibus pascubus et ponturis hominum, equorum, canum, et avium, et non compellantur ad pascendum ipsum dominum Principem aut

ministros suos, aut alios quoscumque seculares, nisi eorum spontanea voluntate; et quod circa electiones, depositiones, seu resignationes Abbatum, tempore vacationis aut alio tempore, dominus Princeps nec ministri sui, nec alii seculares in nullo intromittant, sed omnia in dicta Abbathia per religiosos ordinentur regulariter et tractentur.

Et quod iidem Abbas et Monachi habeant omnia catalla omnium hominum suorum pro quocumque delicto seu felonia forisfacta, et similiter omnia amerciamenta omnium hominum suorum habeant in casu quo erga dominum Principem vel ministros suos fuerint amerciari, pro quacumque causa seu delicto.

Et quod habeant wreccum maris in omnibus terris suis et in omnibus littoribus eisdem terræ adjacentibus, et omnia vasa et alia bona sua per intemperiem maris vel aliud infortunium periclitata, fracta, aut submersa, et in terris suis inventa fuerint.

Et quod ipsi et homines sui et servientes sui, ac omnia bona sua libere et sine quocumque pretio paratum habeant transitum per Meney, Conwey Abman, et Devi, et in omnibus passagiis per totum Principatum et potestatem domini Principis, non obstante quacumque lege seu consuetudine.

Et quod si animalia sua aut alia quæcumque bona furata, rapta, vel ablata, vel ad tempus perdita fuerint, tm̃ cito Idem abbas et Monachi illa probauerint esse sua, et si animalia quorumȝ inuenta fuerint signo ipsorum Abbatis et Monachorum signata, ipsis monachis liberentur, et quod ipsi pro quacumque causa, dicto, facto, seu forisfacto in curia domini Principis, aut in quacumque curia laicali, nullatenus judicentur, punientur, seu amercientur.

Et quod licite possint super aquas currentes inter terras domini Principis seu hominum suorum quod una parte et terras ipsorum ex altera, molendina levare et edificare et easdem aquas de canalibus suis usque ad terram ipsorum Abbatis et monachorum vertere et declinare.

Et quod ipsi libere possint recipere ad habitum suum, et ad famulatum suum et servitia, liberos principis spadarios et homines

de advocatione domini Principis, atque omnes primam tonsuram habentes, cujuscumque condicionis extiterint, sine molestia et calumpnia cujuscumque.

Et quod nullus minister domini Principis pro quacumque causa ingrediatur terras ipsorum Abbatis et Monachorum ad aliqua officia in eisdem facienda, et quod nullus bona ipsorum aut ser. . .

[*The next sentence, on a separate leaf, begins*]

Conventui, quorum monasterium idem Rex Edwardus proavus domini Principis apud Maynan in honore omnipotentis Dei et beatæ Mariæ et omnium Sanctorum, et pro salute animæ suæ et animarum omnium antecessorum et heredum suorum fundavit, et prædictam villam de Maynan cum pertinentiis, una cum omnibus libertatibus suis, habendam et tenendam præfato Abbati et successoribus suis, et Ecclesiæ suæ, imperpetuum dedit.

Item quo ad libertatem supradictam, videlicet quod prædicti Abbas et Monachi liberi sint et quieti ab omnibus potituris, etc. et ad omnes alias libertates subsequentes in prædicto clameo contentas, dicit quod quidam Lewelinus Gervasii filius quondam Princeps Northwalliæ per duas cartas suas concessit Abbati de Aberconwey qui tunc fuit et predecessoribus ipsius Abbatis nunc easdem libertates habendum sibi et successoribus et ecclesiæ suæ prædictæ imperpetuum. Et dicit quod postea dominus Edwardus Rex Angliæ nunc inspexit prædictam cartam prædicti regis proavi prædicti domini Principis, necnon cartas prædicti Lewelini, eas Abbati et Conventui qui tunc fuerunt, et successoribus suis, per cartam suam ratificavit, acceptavit, et confirmavit; quam quidem cartam domini Regis nunc idem Dominus Princeps inspexit, et per litteras suas patentes acceptavit et ratificavit, et prædicto Abbati nunc et successoribus suis, et Ecclesiæ suæ prædictæ, pro se et heredibus suis, Et profert hic easdem domini principis litteras patentes quæ premissa testantur in hæc verba.

Edwardus Dei gratia etc̃. Archiepiscopis, &c. salutem. Inspeximus cartam domini Edwardi quondam Regis Angliæ avi nostri in hæc verba, Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus

Hiberniæ, et Dux Aquitaniæ, archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Ducibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis, Ministris, et omnibus Ballivis et ffidelibus suis ad quos præsentes litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod in recompensationem situs quondam Abbathiæ de Aberconwey, et terrarum adjacentium, et Grangiæ de Crethyn cum pertinentiis ad eandem Abbatiam tunc spectantium, quas Abbas et Conventus loci ejusdem in manus nostras reddiderunt, dedimus et concessimus et hac carta nostra confirmavimus prædictis Abbati et Conventui Ordinis Cisterciensis, quorum Monasterium postmodum de novo apud Maynan in honore omnipotentis Dei et beatæ Mariæ et omnium sanctorum, pro salute animæ nostræ et animarum omnium antecessorum et hæredum seu aliorum successorum nostrorum, fundavimus, prædictam villam de Maynan cum pertinentiis quam una cum quibusdam aliis terris Henrico de Lacy comiti Lyncoln et heredibus suis, et quam ipse idem comes postmodum quietam de se et heredibus suis in manus nostras reddidit. Et etiam centum et decem et septem solidatas et octo denariatas terræ quas M^{9}educus grath et gornonen frater ejus, et quindecim solidatas terræ quas Rogerus Borun et decem solidatas terræ quas Tuderius ap Carweit tenuerunt in eadem villa de Maynan, et quas in manus nostras quiete similiter reddiderunt, habendum et tenendum præfatis Abbati et Conventui et eorum successoribus in eodem Monasterio Deo et beatæ Mariæ servituris, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Concessimus etiam eisdem Abbati et Conventui omnes rationabiles donationes terrarum, Ecclesiarum, hominum et Elemosinarum eis a quibuscumque jam collatas et imposterum conferendas vel adquirendas. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod prædicti Abbas et Monachi et eorum successores habeant et teneant villam, terras, et redditus prædictos cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad eos spectantibus, ut in boscis, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, molendinis, stagnis; vivariis, piscariis, viis, aquis, semitis, et mariscis per metas et bundas

subscriptas, videlicet ascendendo de Conwey versus montes Abercambwłł ubi descendit fluvius qui appellatur Cumogan in flumine de Conwey, et ascendendo per illum fluvium de Cingonan usque ad fontem de Tangwre, et de fonte illa per viam magnam directe usque ad Rytyllwydieirth, et exinde per rivulum parvum usque ad fluvium de Gwydenging, et sic ascendendo per illum fluvium usque ad rivulum parvum qui descendit de Dewlwyn, et inde usque Grasiwy'chwydant, et sic directe usque Pwłł in medio Gwenn gennarwan, et deinde usque Pwłł in medio y Gwennd bythyne, et sic usque dynon yr heol, deinde moram Kaelertħ, deinde usque Clawđ juxta domos fabrorum, deinde usque ad caput Grw y ranallen, exinde usque ad flumen Gretlyn, deinde usque ad Wennbowys et sic iuxtatus * eweñ bowys usque pułł bndir, et exinde usque Nantuwrath, et deinde descendendo usque ad moram quæ dicitur Gwennce, et deinde usque y bwlcħcho, deinde usque ad maram quæ est inter Gwernnelanc et Garthgynnanuelt, et deinde usque ad aquam quæ appellatur Balenllechane, et sic per illam aquam usque longum vadum, deinde usque ad moram quæ appellatur Gwerun vaenan, et sic per quendam rivulum usque Pull y don, usque Conwey, et filum aquæ Conwey usque ad Avercambwłł. Et quod habeant omnes racionabiles donationes terrarum, Ecclesiarum, Hominum, et Elemosinarum eis a quibuscumque jam eis collatas et in posterum conferendas vel adquirendas, bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre, plenarie, et honorifice, cum sok et sak, tol et them, infangtheff et outfangethef, hamesok, gridbruigh, Bolwyke, ffythwyth, fferewyth, hengwith, leirwyth, fflemfrid, murdredo, latrocinio, fforstałł, hordełł, et horest infra tempus et extra, et in omnibus locis et cum omnibus causis quæ sunt et esse possunt. Concedimus etiam quod prædicti Abbas et Monachi quieti sint imperpetuum de omnibus misericordiis, et quod ipsi et omnes homines et tenentes sui liberi sint et ab omni Scotto et Gildo et omnibus auxiliis Regis, Vicecomitum, et omnium Ministerialium eorum, et de hidagio, carucagio, danegelđ, hornegeld et exercitibus,

* *Sic in orig.*

scutagiis, talagiis, lestagiis, stallagiis, siris, et assisis, et assartis de wasto nemorum, de meremio cariando, de armis portandis, de thesauro portando, de chaciis, establiis, scotall regis, de purprestura hundred, wapentachiis, placitis, et querell, ward, et wardpeni, auerpeny, hundredespeny, borthalpeny, Trithingpeny, de operibus castellorum, parcorum, pontium, et de clausuris, et omni cariagio, summagio, navagio, passagio, muragio, et dominium regalium edificatione, et omnimoda operatione. Et prohibemus ne bosci eorum ad prædicta opera vel ad aliqua alia capiantur, et similiter ne blada illorum vel hominum suorum ad castella munienda capiantur. Concedimus etiam quod omnia tenementa ipsorum, tam in bosco quam in plano, sint deafforestata et extra omnem potestatem forestariorum. Precipimus etiam quod prædicti Abbas et Monachi, et homines et tenentes sui, liberi sint et quieti ab omni theoloneo in omni foro et in omnibus nundinis, et in omni transitu pontium, viarum, et maris, et per omnem potestatem nostram et per omnes terras nostras in quibus eis libertatem dare possumus, et omnia mercata sua et hominum suorum sint similiter in prædictis locis ab omni theloneo quieta. Et quod naves eorundem Abbatis et Monachorum liberum transitum per omnem potestatem nostram habeant, absque omni exactione et consuetudine. Concedimus etiam et confirmamus eisdem Abbati et Monachis quod si aliquis hominum suorum pro delicto suo vitam vel membra debeat amittere, vel fugerat, in judicio stare noluerit, vel aliud delictum fecerit pro quo catalla sua debeat perdere, ipsa catalla sint prædictorum Abbatis et Monachorum; similiter si aliquis hominum suorum sit amerciatus erga nos vel Ballivos nostros pro quacumque causa vel delicto, vel forisfacto, amerciamenta dictis Abbati et Monachis reddantur, servata regiæ potestati justitia mortis et membrorum. Hæc omnia prædicta et omnes alias quietantias, libertates, et liberas consuetudines quæ in hoc scripto comprehenduntur, et liberiores quæ domui aliquo religioso referri possunt, concedimus prædictis Abbati et Monachis pro dei amore et gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ, et pro salute animæ nostræ, et

omnium antecessorum et hæredum nostrorum, in liberam et puram Elemosinam imperpetuum. Et prohibemus super forisfacturam nostram quod nullus eisdem Abbati et Monachis vel hominibus suis contra hanc Cartam nostram forisfaciat sub pœna viginti librarum, quia ipsos et omnes res et omnes possessiones suas et hominum suorum in custodiam et protectionem nostram recepimus. Et prohibemus ne ipsi Abbas et Monachi ponantur in placitum super aliquo tenemento suo, nisi coram nobis vel hæredibus nostris. Hiis testibus. Datum per manum nostram apud Careñ .xxiij. die mensis Octobris Anno regni nostri .xij°.

Inspeximus etiam Cartam Lewellini filii Gervasii quondam principis Northwalliæ in hæc verba. Notum sit omnibus Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis tam præsentibus quam futuris quod Ego Lewellinus Gervasii filius, totius Northwalliæ princeps, intuitu divinæ pietatis, pro salute animæ meæ et animarum omnium antecessorum et hæredum ac successorum meorum, dedi et concessi atque præsenti carta mea confimavi pro me et heredibus meis et successoribus meis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam imperpetuum, Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ et Monachis de Aberconwey sub regulari habitu Deo servituris, locum ipsum in quo idem Monasterium fundatum est per hos .s3. terminos, &c. Concessi insuper eisdem Monachis quod liberi sint imperpetuum et quieti ab omnibus pascubus et poturis hominum, equorum, canum, et avium, et quod non compellantur ad pascendum me aut ministros meos aut alios quoscumque seculares sub optentu consuetudinis. Et quod circa electiones, depositiones, seu resignaciones Abbatum tempore vacationis, aut alio tempore, ego nullatenus intromittam, seu ministri mei aut alii seculares minime intromittant, sed omnia in dicto Monasterio facienda per religiosos ordinentur regulariter et tractentur.

Concessi etiam eisdem ut uti possunt et gaudere naufragio in omnibus terris suis et litoribus meliori modo quo in terris meis ego utor .v3 quæcumque bona seu res per submersionem aut fractionem, seu per aliud infortunium, ad terras suas seu littora ter-

rarum suarum conuict de mari evenerint, ipsa bona totaliter et integre ipsorum Abbatis et Monachorum. Similiter si navæ aut scaphæ, aut bona ipsorum Monachorum infra dominium meum per procellam maris, aut Naufragium, aut per aliud infortunium fracta aut submersa fuerint, ipsa vasa et bona sint ipsorum Monachorum.

Concessi etiam eisdem Monachis quod ipsi et omnes servi sui, cum omnibus bonis suis, quieti sint ab omni theoloneo, passagio, pavagio, et pontagio in omnibus terris meis, et quod ipsi et omnes servi sui in terris suis libere possint emere et vendere animalia, cibum, et potum, atque alia quæcumque bona. Et similiter et ipsi et servi sui, ac omnia bona sua, libere et sine quocumque pretio paratum transitum habeant per Meney et Conwey et

et Devy et omnibus passagiis, per omnem potestatem meam, non obstante quacumque lege aut consuetudine.

Concessi etiam eisdem Monachis quod nullus hominum extorqueat ab eis vicinitatem aut partem de pasturis, silvis, aut molendinis suis; sed ipsi Monachi contra omnes custodiant et possideant fines et terminos suos in hac carta contentos, et intra eosdem terminos araturas, edificia, molendina, culturas et alios quoscumque faciant.

CHRONICLE

OF

THE REBELLION IN LINCOLNSHIRE,

1470.

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Rebellion in Lincolnshire was one of the occurrences of that troubled period of the reign of Edward the Fourth, when he was struggling with the machinations of his overgrown subject, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, through which he was at length compelled to leave his kingdom, and seek personal safety in flight. He had already suffered a period of unkingly restraint, from the time he was seized by the archbishop of York at Honiley, near Warwick,* until his escape from the castle of Middleham; and he had also already been troubled with the insurrection of the Yorkshire-men, who had defeated his army under the earl of Pembroke near Banbury, and beheaded his father-in-law and brother-in-law, earl Rivers and sir John Wydville. For these matters he had granted a pardon, with the mention of which the present narrative commences.

That weak and worthless prince, George duke of Clarence, the king's next brother, had virtually deserted his allegiance on accepting the hand of Warwick's elder daughter and coheir; and it was now the project of the King-maker to depose Edward, and place the duke of Clarence on the throne. This intention was first made apparent by the disclosures which ensued upon the suppression of the Lincolnshire rebellion, as related in the following pages.

* Not Olney, as in the notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 46. See the Gentleman's Magazine for Dec. 1839, vol. XII. p. 616.

The immediate consequence of king Edward's victory near Stamford was the flight of the duke and earl to France, where they concluded a treaty* with the queen of Henry VI., and married the lady Anne Neville, Warwick's younger daughter, to her son Edward prince of Wales: the duke of Clarence thereupon postponing his claim to the crown to that of the house of Lancaster. On their return to England, fortified by this alliance, the king was in his turn forced to leave the realm, and take refuge with his brother of Burgundy; and the temporary restoration of king Henry the Sixth ensued. King Edward's return, and almost magical recovery of the crown, forms the subject of the first publication produced by the Camden Society.

The present Chronicle, extending only over the brief space of a few weeks, will not require further illustration, beyond what a few notes will supply. Any contribution to so obscure a portion of English history cannot fail to be welcome; and the present is of importance, not only because it relates circumstances not elsewhere recorded, but also because it evidently proceeded from one who wrote under the immediate influence of the royal authority, and had consequently the best means of information: appealing, indeed, to documents throughout his narrative. It has been preserved in one of the volumes of the College of Arms (Vincent, No. 435), and for its communication the Society is indebted to William Courthope, Esq. Rouge Croix Pursuivant.

* On this portion of the history of the period, see "The manner and guiding of the Earl of Warwick at Angiers," published by Sir Henry Ellis in his Original Letters, Second Series, vol. I. p. 132.

CHRONICLE

OF

THE REBELLION IN LINCOLNSHIRE,

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A Remembrance of suche acteȝ and dedeȝ as oure souveraigne lorde the king hadde doon in his journey begonne at London the vi. day of Marche in the x. yere of his moost . . . . . reigne, for the repression and seting down of the rebellyon and insurreccion of his subgettes in the shire of Linccolne, commeaved by the subtile and fals conspiracie of his grete rebelleȝ George duc of Clarence, Richarde erle of Warrewike, and othere, &c.

(Vincent, No. 435, art. IX. in Coll. Arm.)

First, how be it that our saide souveraigne lorde, as a prince enclined to shew his mercy and pite to his subgettes, raither then rigure and straitenesse of his laweȝ, pardonned of late to his saide rebelles all tresons and feloneȝ, trespasseȝ and offenceȝ committed and doon by theym ayeinst his highenese afore the fest of Cristenmes last past, (1) trusting that therby he shuld have coraged, caused, and induced theym from that tyme furthe to have been of good, kynd, and lovyng demeanyng ayeinst his highenesse; yit they unnaturally and unkyndly, withoute cause or occacion yeven to theym by our saide soveraigne lorde, falsly compassed, conspired, and ymagened the final destruccion of his most roiall personne, and of his true subgettes taking parte with him in assisting his highnesse, in so moche as whan he was commen unto Waltham the

vj. day of Marche, on the morue after, the vij. day of Marche, there was brought unto him worde that Robert Welleȝ, calling hym self grete capteyn of the comons of Linccolne shire, (2) had doo made proclamacions in all the churcheȝ of that shire the sonday the iiij. daye of Marche in the kinges name, the duc, erle, and his owne name, everye man to come to Ranby hawe (3) upon the tuesday the vj. day of Marche, upon payne of dethe, to resist the king in comyng down into the saide shire, saying that his comyng thidre was to destroie the comons of the same shire, as apperethe by the copie of the same. And theruppon, the vij. daye of Marche, the king sent to London for the late lorde Welles, (4) sir Thomas Dymmoke, (5) and othere, whiche were come thidre by the kinges prive sealeȝ (6).

Upon the thursday the viij. day of Marche, the king, ryding betwixt Bu[n]ttyngforde and Roiston, toke in the way a childe whiche was sent from John Morling, steward to the lorde Cromewell(7). Wherby appered clerely the gadering of the saide comons, and parte of theire ententeȝ, whiche letres purportith that by the tyme thay came to Stoneford thare shulde be of theym and of Yorkeshyr and other cuntrees that wolde falle to thaym C. M[l]. men. And the same lettre was written at Tottersale, (8) the vj. day of Marche, and is redy to be shewed.

The same thursday the king come to Roston, whyther come to hym a servaunt of the duc of Clarence with a letter lattyng hys highnes wyt that, notwithstonding that he had taken hys lyve [a] of hym at London, to have goone westward, yit, for to doo hym service in this his journey, he wolde arredye hym self to com towardes his highenes at suche tyme and place appointed as therle of Warrewike shulde also come, as he hadde promysed the king at London. Wherunto the king then answered, that he was glad, and wrote hym a letre of thanke of hys own hande; whiche message so sent by the duc was fals dissimulacion, as by the warkeȝ aftre it appered. Nevertheles the king, not undrestanding no suche

[a] leave.

doublenesse, but trusting that they ment truly as thay shewed, sent unto the saide duc and erle incontinent his severall comissions (9) for to arreise the people in diverse shires, and to bring theym unto the king to doo hym service ayeinst his rebelles. And soo on the friday the ix. day of Marche the king com to Huntyngdon.

The kyng being at Huntyngdoon did the saide lorde Welleȝ to be examined, and sir Thomas Dymmoke and other severally, in whiche examinacion it was knowleged that in the lorde Welleȝ alle suche counceilleȝ and conspiracions were taken and made betwixt his son, the saide sir Thomas Dynmoke, the commons, and othere; and that he and the saide sir Thomas Dynmoke were prive and knowing of there communicacions, and thay might have lett it and did not, but verray provocars and causers of the same, with othere circumstanceȝ touching it. Wheruppon the king yave hym an inunccion that he shulde send to his sonne, commaunding him to leve hys felaship, and humbly submitte hym, or elles thay for theire seide treasons shulde have dethe, as they had deserved. The king thernne[a] being, com eftsoneȝ tydingeȝ that the saide Robert Welleȝ and commouns were in grete nowmbre, and passed Linccolne towardes Grantham.

Upon the sonday the vj. day of Marche, the king com to Fodrynghay, (10) where he had newe knowlege that his rebelles were passed Grantham towardes hym, but sumwhat thay beganne to chaunge thaire way towards Leycestre; which, as it was aftre clerely confessed, was doon by the stirring and message sent from the duc of Clarence and erle of Warrewike unto the saide late sir Robert Welleȝ and other pety captayneȝ, desiring thaym to have [been] by the monday at Leycestre, where thay promised to have joyned with theym with xx. M[l]. men, as it appered aftre in effect and by severall confessions (11) of the saide captayneȝ.

Where it appereth clerely that by all this tyme the saide duc and erle dissimiled falsly with the king, for there,[b] or he went to

[a] *So the MS.* [b] *So the MS.: read* the earl.

London, promysed that he woolde have comen to the king in resistence of the saide rebelles; uppon trust wherof the king by his knowlage and assent appoynted his gysteȝ,[a] and the nombre of the people that he wolde com withe [to] the king. Also upon the same trust aftre sent to the saide duc and hym his commissions to arrise and bring with hym the people of certein shireȝ to doo hym service. Also the saide duc dissimiled right untruly with the king, for als soon as the lord Welleȝ was comen to London to the king he come also thidre, undre coloure that he wolde have toke his leve to have goon westward, whedre he had sent his wyfe. And certeinly he entended principally always to hym possible to have delaied the kinges comyng forth, sendyng worde to the saide sir Robert Welleȝ that he so wold doo; desiryng hym not to be ferre, but to com forwardes; the whiche porpose if he had brought aboute, without eny faile the king, by all literaly[b] presumpcion, had be distressed and alle his felaship, as clerely may appere by the warkes aftre.

That the duc thus dissimiled it shewethe; for on the morowe aftre the king departed owte of London the said duc, the lorde Welleȝ, the prioure of Saint Johanneȝ, (12) and othere divers persons, kept theire counseill secretly at Saynt Johanneȝ, (13) and forthwith he departed towards Warrewike, contrary to his saying afore to the king; and upon the way sent the king a plesaunt letre as above, whiche letre his highenesse receyved at Roiston, where he wrote ayein, thanking and trusting verely he wolde so have doon; and soo diverse other tymeȝ thay bothe sent to the king suche plesaunt mesageȝ, ever wenyng the king thare writting and messageȝ had been feithefulle and true, to the xiiij. day of Marche, whiche day the king came to Granthame; whiche alle notwithstonding, falsly and subtylly dissimiled with his highenes; for undre this they sent theire messages daily to the kinges rebelles, bidding thayme to be of good chere and comforthe, and hold forthe theire way towardes Leycestre, where they promised to

[a] The stages of his march.

[b] *So the MS. qu.* likely.

have joined with theym and utterly to have taken theire parte, wherby theire unnaturelle and fals double treason apperethe.

And if God ne had put in the kinges mynde at Huntyngdon to put the lorde Welleȝ in certeynte of his dethe for his fals conspiracions and concelementes as is afore shewed, onlasse then his sonne wolde have left his felliship, and submutted as above, and theruppon a message sent to the saide sir Robert from his fadre, they had be certeynly joyned with the saide duc and erle ar the king might have had to doo with theym; but as God of his grace provided for the kinges wele, the same late sir Robert Welles being onwardes on his way towards Leycestre, undrestonding his fadre life to be in joperdie, by a message brought hym from his fadre, knowing also that the king was that sunday at nyght at Fodringhay, and demyng that he wolde not have passed Stanford the same monday, not entending to make eny submission ne beyng in his felaship, but disposing him to make his parte good ayeinst the king, and traytourly to levie where[a] ayeinst his highnes, arredied hym and his felaship that day to have sett uppon the king in Staunford the monday nyght, and so to have destrest hym and his oost, and so rescued his fadre lyf; and for that entent turned with his hoole oost oute of Leicestre wey and toke his wey towardes Stanford upon that same pourpose.

The king, not undrestonding theeȝ fals dissimilacions, but, of his most noble and rightwise courage, with alle spede pourposing to goo upon his saide rebelles, eerly on the monday afore day drew hym to felde[b] and addressed hym towardes Stanford; and at his thidre comyng sett furthe his foward towardes his saide rebellion, and bayted hym self and his felaship in the town, whethere com eftsons a message from the saide duc and erle by a prest called sir Richard   , and Thomas Woodhille, which brought letres from theym, certefying the king that thay were comyng towardes him in aide ayeinst his rebelles, and that nyght thay were at Coventrie, and on the monday nyght they wolde

[a] war.

[b] To the field; *i. e.* to the march onward.

be at Leycestre; wherof the king delivered theym with letres of thankes of his own hand, and incontinent toke the felde, where he undrestoode the saide sir Robert Welles to be in armeȝ with baniers displaied ayeinst hym, disposed to fight; thought it nott according with his honoure ne surtied[a] that he shulde jeoparde his most roialle person upon the same to leve the fadre and the saide sir Thomas Dymmoke of live that suche treason had conspired and wrought, as soo it was thought to alle the lordes, noblemen and othere that tyme being in his oost; wherfore his highnesse in the felde undre his banere displaied comaunded the said lorde Welles and sir Thomas Dymmoke to be executed; and soo furthwith proceding ayeinst his saide rebelles, by the helpe of alle mighty God, acheved the victorie (14) and distressed mo then xxx. M[l]. men, usyng therewithe plentyvoufly his mercy in saving of the liveȝ of his poure and wreched commons (15).

Where it is soo to be remembred that, at suche tyme as the batileȝ were towardes joynyng, the kyng with [his] oost seting uppon [the rebels], and they avaunsyng theymself, theire crye was, *A Clarence! a Clarence! a Warrewike!* that tyme beyng in the feelde divers persons in the duc of Clarence livery, and especially sir Robert Welleȝ hymself, and a man of the dukeȝ own, that aftre was slayne in the chase, and his casket taken, wherinne were founden many mervelous billeȝ, conteining matter of the grete seduccion, and the verrey subversion of the king and the common wele of alle this lande, with the most abhominable treason that ever were seen or attempted withinne the same, as thay be redy to be shewed; and in the same chase was taken the late sir Thomas Delalande (16). This victorie thus hadde, the king returned to Stanforde late in the nyght, yeving laude and praising to almighty God.

Uppon the tewsday the xiij. day of Marche, the king, yit no thing mystrusting the saide duc and erle, sent from Stanford towarde theym John Down, oon of the swiers for his body, (17) with ij. letres of his own hand, signefyeing unto theym the victorye that

[a] *So the MS.* *q.* suretyhood.

God hadde sent hym, and desired theym to com towarde hym with convenient nowmbre for thaire astates, commaunding theym to departe[a] the people of the shireȝ (18) that were arraysed by thayme by virtue of his commyssion, for hym semed full necessarye to sett good direccions in Linccolne shire, for he was thereinne, wherinne the advises were to hym right behovfulle, the king supposing verily that thay had been that monday nyght at Leycestre, as they afore soo had written to his highnes that thay wolde have been. And it is to deme soo they shulde have been, or at the leest upon tewsday, ne had be the kinges victorie on the monday, and that thay had no suche nowmbre of people as thay loked aftre, whiche caused theym to staker and to tary stille at Coventre, where the saide John Down founde theym. It is also to undrestand that ne had be the turnyng backe of the seide late Robert Welles with his oost towards Stanforde, for his fadreȝ reskue, the king couthe not by liklyhode haive hadde at doo with theyme the monday, ne of liklyhode til thay hadd be joyned with the saide duc and erle, as afore written.

Uppon the wednisday and thursday the xiiij. (19) and xv. day of Marche, the king being at Grantham, were taken and brought thidre unto hym alle the captayneȝ in substance, as the saide late sir Robert Welles, Richarde Warine, and othere, severally examyned of there free willeȝ uncompelled, not for fere of dethe ne otherwyse stirred, knowleged and confessed the saide duc and erle to be partiners and chef provocars of all theire treasons. And this plainely, theire porpos was to distroie the king, and to have made the saide duc king, as they, at the tyme that thei shulde take theire dethes, openly byfore the multitude of the kinges oost affermed to be true.

And what tyme the saide John Down had delivered the kinges letres to theim[b] at Coventre, thay saide and promysed to hym playnely thay wolde in alle haste com towardes the king, leving theire fotemen, with a M^{l}. or at the most xv^{c} men; whiche notwithstond-

[a] *i. e.* disband. [b] Clarence and Warwick.

ing, the said John Down being present, they departed, with alle theire fellaship, towardes Burton-uppon-Trent; and when the saide John Down remembred theym that hym semed they toke not the right way towardes the king, theire aunswere was, that they toke that way for certein fotemen were byfore theym, with whom they wolde speke, and curtesly departed from thens, to thentent thay shulde be the more redy and the better-wele willed to doo hym service hereaftre; and undre colour thereof they went to Burton, and sithen to Darby, for to gadre more people unto theym, to enforce theym self ayeinst the king in all that they couthe or myght soo ever, continually using theire accustumed fals dissimilacion.

In this season, the king undrestonding that the commocion in meoving of people in Richemond shire by the stirring of the lorde Scrope and othere, sent by the saide duc and erle there for that cause with many lettres, his highness sent into Northomerland and Westmoreland to arredie certein felaship to a filowed[a] uppon theym if they had com forwarde, and to therle that tyme of Northomerland, nowe markes Mowntague, with his felaship, to have countred theym in theire faces, thay that understanding and havyng tithinges also [of] the kinges victorie, and, as divers gentilmen of that felaship saide, thinkyng by the maner of the saide erle of Warrewike writing sent thidre in his own name oonly, to arreise the people, that theire stirring shulde be ayenst the king, and fering his spedy comyng unto theiȝ parties with his oost, left theire gadering, and satt still.

The friday the xvj. day of Marche, the king com to Newerke, and the setyrday, as the king was towardes Horebake, there com to hym from the saide duc and erle Rufford and Herry Wrotesley, and with theym brought pleasaunte writinges, dissimiling eftsoneȝ that thay wolde com to hym at Ratforde. The king delivered theym the same day, the xvij. of Marche; and on sonday the king sent garter king of armeȝ with ij. prive sealeȝ of summons to theym, that tyme being at Chestrefelde, commaunding theym to com to

[a] *i. e.* have followed.

theire aunswere and declaracion upon suche thinges as the forsaide captayns of Linccolneshire had accused theym of, as apperethe by the same seide summons, (20) whereof the tenure filowethe.

"Brothere, we ben enfourmed by sir Robert Welles, and othere, how ye labowred contrarie to naturalle kyndenes and dutie of ligeaunce divers matiers of grete poise; and also how proclamations have be made in your name and owre cosyn of Warrewike to assemble oure liege people, noo mencion made of us. Furthermore, letres missive sent in like maner for like cause. How be it we wolle foryete that to us perteynethe. And that is to calle you to your declaracion on the same, and to receyve you therunto, if ye wolle com as fittethe a liege man to com to his soveraigne lorde in humble wise. And if ye soo doo, indifference and equite shalbe by us wele remembred, and soo as no resonable man goodly disposed shalle move thinke but that we shalle entrete you according to your nyghenes of oure bloode and oure laweȝ. Wherfore, our disposicion thus playnly to you declared, we wolle and charge you, upon the feithe and trouthe that ye naturelly owe to bere unto us, and upon payne of your ligeaunce, that ye, departing your felaship, in alle hast aftre the sight herof addresse you to our presence, humbly and mesurably accompayned, and soo as it is convenient for the cause abovesaid, lating you wite if ye soo do not, but contynue that unlefull assemble of our people in perturbacion and contempe of our peas and commandement, we most procede to that we were lothe to doo, to the punyshement of you, to the grevous example of alle othere our subgettes, uppon the which if there filowe eny effucion of Christen bloode of our subgettes of this our realme, we take God, our blissed Lady, saynt George, and all the saintes to our wittenesse that ye be oonly to be charged with the same, and not we. Yeven undre our signet, at Newerke, the xvij. day of Marche, the x. yere of our reign." And a like letre, undre prive seale, was sent to the erle of Warrewike.

The sonday the xviij. day of Marche, the king com to Doncastre, where com to hym from the saide duc and erle a chapleyn

of the saide erleȝ called maister Richarde, bryngyng pleasaunt letres from theym, signefyeing in the begynyng of his message, that thay wolde com humbly to the king; but the conclucion was that, or thay shulde com, thay wolde have suretie for theyme and theire felaship, with pardonneȝ for theym and alle the lordes and othere that had take theire partie; wherunto the king aunswered, that of late, in trust of theire hede[a] demeanyng he had graunted theym his pardon, and at theire instans and prayour made it extended to asmoche ferrer day then he had furst graunted it; and therefore, and the writing and messageȝ to his highnes sent byfore remembred, he mervailed that thay delaied theire comyng, and sent eny suche messageȝ for theire excuseȝ, and sithe his highnes had sent his forsaide summons by the saide garter, his highnes supposed to have worde from theym the same nyght of theire comyng, and for that his saide entent shulde more clerely appere unto theym, he wolde send to theym of newe his prive sealeȝ of his saide sumons; as soo he dide by the saide maister Richarde, chargeing hym to deliver theym to the seide duc and erle.

The monday the xix. day of Marche, before noon, come ayene from the saide duc and erle unto the king at Doncastre the saide Rufford, and with hym sir William Pare, (21) with letres credenciales, the credence in effecte conteynyng the saide message that the saide maister Richarde had brought on sonday afore, expressing that they wolde not onlesse then they myght have suretieȝ of theire comyng, abiding, and departing, to have the kinges pardon in fourme afore rehersed, whiche suretie shulde have be that the king shuld have be sworne to theym solemply and theruppon they to be sworne unto hym ayein; wherunto the king, aftre advise and assent taken with alle his lordes and noblemen being there with hym, openly, thay being present, aunswered, that he wolde use and entreate theym as a souveragne lord owethe to use and entreate his subgettes, for his auncient enemyeȝ of

[a] *So MS.*

France wolde not desire so large a suretie for their comyng to his rialle presens; and he doubt it not but it was wele in theire remembraunce how he of late had graunted theym his pardonne, and sithe that what insurreccions and rebellions were in his shire of Linccolne comitted ayenst hym and the common wele of his lande, and as his highnesse hathe knowlage by the confessions of sir Robert Welles called grete capteigne of Linccolneshire, Waryn capteyn of the fotemen, and other, they were styrers and provokers and causers of the same; and if he shulde be to liberalle of his pardonne, considering the hanyous accusacions, and thay not harde what they couth say for their declaracions, it shulde be to perlioux and to evel example to alle other his subgettes in like case, and to gret an unsurtie to his personne and comon wele of his realme; whiche meaved his highneȝ to telle theym his aunswereȝ, and if they couthe have a declared theym self, and shewed the saide accusacions van and untrue, he wolde have be therewith as gladde as theym self, and so have taken theym in his grace and favour. And thoughe thay couthe not so have doon, yit his highnesse wolde not have forgoten the nyghnesse of blode which they were of to hym, ne the olde love and affeccion whyche of long tym he had borne to theym, but wolde have mynistred to theym rightwisseness with favour and pite. And where sedicious langageȝ have be shewen, as it is saide, by theire meanes in the northe partieȝ and elleȝ where to stir his subgettes ayeinst hym, in that he wolde not abide by his saide pardon late graunted, if thay or eny other knyght withinne his saide realme would soo say, he wolde in his own personn, as j knyght, make it goode uppon hym that he saide falsly and untruly; and furthermore, he bad the saide sir William and Rufford say to the saide duc and erle, that if thay wolde com to his presence, according to his saide summons, he wolde therewith be plesed; and if thay ne wold, but refused so to do, he wolde repute, take, and declare theym, as reason wolde, aftre as theire demerites, obstinacy, and unnaturelle demeanyng required, and charged the saide sir William

Parre and Rufford, that sith they were gentilmen borne of his realme, if they self[a] theym of such contumacy, they then shulde leve theym and com to hym, according to theire duty and ligeance, and to yeve hym[b] assistence ayenst theym, and that thay shulde give[c] like charge to all other knyghtes, swiers, and other subgettes being there with the saide duc and erle to do the same, upon the payne of ligeance; wheruppon the saide sir William Par and Rufford, fering that they shuld not be suffred to opyn the kinges commandment, humbly besought the kinges gode grace that it might please the same to send an officer of armes with theym to doo it, as he soo did, sendyng with theym Marche, oon of his kinges of armeȝ.

The monday nyght, whan his message was commen to the saide duc and erle at Chestrefelde, they, taking noo regarde therunto, but presumptuosly refusing by the same obstinacy, withdrew theymself and their felliship into Loncastre shire, trusting there to have encresing their strengheȝ and by the comforthe that thay shulde have had there, and oute of Yorkshire to [have] assembled so gret a puyssaunce that thay might have be able to have fought with the kinges highnes in plein felde.

The tewsday, in the mornyng, the king, uncerteined how they wolde demean theym upon the saide summons and message, addressed hymself to the felde, and there put his hoole oast in[d] noble ordre of bataille, awowching his baner towardes Chestrefelde, undrestonding noon othere but that thay [should] be there, and then their aforeryders were com to Rotherham to take theire lod[ging], therefore the night filowing he came to Rotherham, where he loged [that ny]ght, and there had certeyn tidinges of their departing, and that knawlege had [for as mo]che as it was thought by his highnes, his lordes, and other noble[men therebei]ngwith hym, that he might not conveniently p[roceed] with soo [great an] host, for that the saide duc and erle, with their felaship [had consum]ed the [vitaile] afore hym, and the contrey afore hym self wa . . not

[a] *So apparently the MS.* q. found ? [b] *MS.* them. [c] *MS.* if. [d] *MS.* and.

able to susteyn so gret an oost as the kinges highnesse had with him withowt a newe refresshing; the king for that cause, and for that he shulde lie betwene them and the strengest of the north parte, wheruppon thay hoped and wolde have beene fayne joyned with, addressed hym with his saide oost towardes his citie of Yorke, fully determyned there to have refresshed and vitailed his saide oast, and so vitailed to have entered into Lanccastreshire that wey, and there, if they wold have biden, to have recountred theire malice; and that night he loged at his castelle of Powmfrett; and from thens the next day, thursday the xxij. day of Marche, he cam to his saide citie of Yorke. And at Yorke the king taried friday, (23) saturday, sonday, and monday the xxvj. day of Marche, esta[blishing] suche rulez and direccions as were and might be for the surtie of alle the northe partiez and for sufficient provicion of vitaile for his oost for thaccomplishing of his pourpose into Lanccastreshire. And there com to the king the lorde Scrope (24), sir John Conyers (25), yong Hilyard of Holdrenes (26), and other, which had laboured, specially provoced, and stirred the people in thiez partiez to have [made] commocion ayeinst the king, wherinne they frely submitted them to the kinges grace and mercy, and humbly bysought hym of his pardone and grace; and also of ther fre willez, unconstreyned and undesired, they clerely confessed that so to make commocions they were specially laboured and desired by the saide duc and erle, th[r]oughe theire writing and messages, by their own servauntes delivered and opened, and at they shulde [have] assembled as many as they couthe have made in thiez partiez, and have drawen to Rotherham, and there to have countred the king, and to have doon asmuche as in them had been to have distressed hym and his ost; which alle they affermed to be true by theire othez, solemply made upon the blissed sacrament, and by they[m] receyved upon the same. And the said late sir Robert Wellez, Waryn, and other, confessed pleinly at theire dethez taking afore the multitude of the kinges oost at Donccastre, that they were specially

laboured, provoked, and stirred, by writing and messaigeȝ sent to theym from the saide duc and erle, and by their servauntes delyvered, that they shuld have comen to Leycestre, and there have joyned with theym, and not to have countred the king, but to have suffred hym to have passed northwardes to thentent that [a] soo the saide duc and erle, and they, with theire powers soe joyned, myght have been betwen the king and the southe parties, and enclosed hym betwixt theym and the power of the northe, to the likly uttur and finalle distruccion of his rialle person, and the subversion of alle the land, and the common wele of the same.

[a] *In MS.* that he.

NOTES.

(1.) *The king's pardon.* "This yere, soone after Alhalowe tyde, proclamacyons were made thorough the cytie of London, that the kynge had pardoned the Northyrn men of theyr riot, and as well for the deth of the lorde Ryvers, as all displeasures by theym before that tyme done." Fabyan's London Chronicle.

(2.) *Sir Robert Welles.* Very few particulars are on record respecting this captain of the rebels, whom it is impossible not to regard as having been, in some measure, the victim of filial duty. He was the only son of his parents, who are noticed in Note 4. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of John Bourchier lord Berners ; she made her will on the 10th October following her husband's death, and therein bequeathed her body to be buried in the church of the Friars at Doncaster, where that of her husband lay interred. As they had no children, the inheritance devolved on his sister Joane, the wife of Richard Hastings esquire, brother to William lord Hastings, lord chamberlain ; which Richard was afterwards summoned to Parliament as lord Welles.

(3.) *Ranby Hawe.* The principal estates of the family of Welles were the manors of Hellowe, Aby, Welle, and Alford, in the county of Lincoln, in the first of which they also possessed the advowson of the free chapel of Wellys. (Act 19 Hen. VII.) By consulting the map of Lincolnshire, the town of Alford will be found near the eastern coast, and the other places mentioned in its immediate vicinity. Ranby, where sir Robert Welles mustered his forces, is about fifteen miles east of Alford, and towards the city of Lincoln ; to which city he afterwards marched, and thence to Grantham, as noticed in more than one passage of the present narrative. The commencement of the rebellion is thus described in Warkworth's Chronicle: "In the moneth of March, the lorde Willowby, the lorde Welles his sonne, Thomas de la Lond knyght, and sere Thomas Dymmoke knyght the kynges champyon, droff out of Lyncolnschyre sere Thomas à Burghe, a knyght of the kynges howse, and pullede downe his place, and toke alle the comons of the shyre, to the nowmbre of xxx.ml., and cryed, *Kynge Henry!* and refused kynge Edwarde." Sir Thomas Burgh was obnoxious to the partizans of Warwick, because, in conjunction with sir William Stanley, he had recently assisted king Edward in escaping from durance at Middleham Castle. He resided in the ancient manor-house of Gainsborough, which he partly rebuilt ; but it does not appear probable that the rebels went so far north.

(4.) *Richard lord Welles* had married Joane daughter and heir of Robert lord Willoughby of Eresby, who died in 1452, by his first wife Elizabeth Montacute, daughter of John earl of Salisbury. (Collectanea Topogr. et Geneal. vii. 155.) Thus it

will be found that the earl of Warwick and sir Robert Welles (the Lincolnshire "captain") were second-cousins, John earl of Salisbury having been the great-grandfather of both. There had also been another connection between the families of Neville and Willoughby; for sir Thomas Neville, one of the earl of Warwick's younger brothers (he was slain at the battle of Wakefield in 1460), had married Maud dowager lady Willoughby, the second wife of Robert, and cousin and co-heir of Ralph lord Cromwell, lord treasurer. She survived to the 30th Aug. 1497. In consequence of his marriage, sir Richard Welles was summoned to parliament during his father's lifetime, by writ directed "Ricardo Welles de Willoughby militi," from the 26th May, 1455. His father, Lionel lord Welles, K.G. was slain at the battle of Towton in 1461, fighting on the Lancastrian side, and was consequently attainted; but the son was restored in blood in 1468 (Nicolas's Synopsis of the Peerage), and then became entitled to the barony of Welles, which was of older date than that of Willoughby. By an act passed in the parliament of 1475 Richard Welles late of Hellowe in the countie of Lincolne knyght, Robert Welles of the same place knyght, and Thomas Delalaunde late of Horblyng in the same shire knyght, were declared attainted of high treason, for the present rebellion. (Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p. 144.) The attainder of the two Welles, father and son, was reversed in the first parliament of Henry VII. (Ibid. 286.) It may here be noticed that the author of Hearne's Fragment was under a misapprehension when he wrote, "And anon thereupon the lord Welles *(that had married Margaret duchess of Somerset)* began a new commotion in Lincolnshire;" for that had been a second marriage made by his father, Lionel. It was to John, the son of that marriage, that Henry the Seventh gave the lady Cecily Plantagenet, his queen's sister, together with the dignity of a viscount and the order of the garter, he being the king's uncle, viz. half-brother, *ex parte maternâ*, of Margaret countess of Richmond.

(5.) *Sir Thomas Dymmoke*, of Scrivelsby, son of sir Philip who officiated as champion at the coronation of king Henry VI., had married Margaret, daughter of Lionel lord Welles by his first wife Joane daughter and heir of sir Robert Waterton: and was thus implicated with his brother-in-law and nephew. He was not, however, included in their subsequent attainder.

(6.) *The king's privy seals.* Polydore Vergil (Camden Society's edition, p. 127) represents that lord Welles and sir Thomas Dymmoke had taken sanctuary at Westminster; that "king Edward gave his faith and promise for their safeties, and called them out of sanctuary." Afterwards, when the king beheaded them, the same historian remarks that it was "contrary to faith and promise given, and to the worst example that might be."—After perusing the present narrative, it may be fairly questioned whether this statement, which is that adopted by most subsequent writers, is not exaggerated in some of the attendant circumstances.

(7.) *Lord Cromwell.* This was Humphrey Bourchier, third son of Henry earl of Essex, by Isabel daughter of Richard of Coningsburgh earl of Cambridge, king Edward's

grandfather. Having married Joane Stanhope, neice and co-heir of Ralph lord Cromwell, of Tattershall, he was summoned to parliament by that title in 1461. It is not to be supposed that he had any concern in the rebellion. He died the next year at Barnet field, fighting on the side of the king, his cousin.

(8.) *Tattershall,* lord Cromwell's castle, was in the immediate vicinity of the insurrection. The remaining tower, built by the lord treasurer Cromwell temp. Hen. VI. is a remarkably fine specimen of brick architecture, views of which will be found in Britton's Architectural Antiquities, and elsewhere; and its chimney-pieces, curiously carved with heraldic insignia and lord treasurer's purses, are represented in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, and in Weir's Horncastle.

(9.) *Commissions.* These commissions had been prepared the day before, being dated "Apud Waltham Abbatis septimo die Martii." They were addressed, 1. to George duke of Clarence, Richard earl of Warwick and Salisbury, sir Walter Sculle, Richard Crofte senior, Thomas Throgmerton, Thomas Everton, and Thomas Lygon, for the county of Worcester; and 2. to George duke of Clarence, Richard earl of Warwick and Salisbury, sir Thomas Ferrers, sir Simon Mountford, sir William Catesby, sir Richard Verney, sir John Greyville, Thomas Burdyt, Thomas Hygford, John Hygford, Henry Botyller, Thomas Muster, and John West, for the county of Warwick; and are printed from the Patent Rolls in Rymer, xi. 652.

(10.) *Fotheringay.* This, as is well known, was a royal castle, and at this time was one of the customary residences of Cecily duchess of York, the king's mother. The bodies of Richard duke of York and his second son Edmund earl of Rutland had been brought hither from Pontefract, and re-interred with great pomp on the 22nd July, 1466, the king and duke of Gloucester being present.

(11.) *Confessions.* The confession of sir Robert Welles was published in the Excerpta Historica, 1831; but its close relation to the present narrative will justify its repetition here:—

Confession of Sir Robert Welles.

(MS. Harl. 283, f. 2.)

"Aboute Candelmasse last, a chapelein of my lordes of Clarence, called maister John Barnby, and with him sir John Clare, prestes, came to my lord my fadir and me to Hellow, with letres of credence yeven to the sayd maister Johan, which he opned in this wyse: that my lorde of Warwike was at London with the kinge, wherupon for thaire bothe suerties he praied us in bothe thaire names to be redy with alle the felaship we couth or might make and assemble of the comons, what tyme so ever my sayd lord of Clarence shuld send us word. Nathelesse he willed us to tary, and nott stur, to suche time as my lord of Warwike were come agayne from London, for doubte of his destruccion. And

anone after my lorde of Clarence sent me a patent of the stewerdship of Cawlesby in Lincolnshire by the saide sir John Clare.

"The cause of oure grete risinge at this time was grounded upon this noise raisid amonges the people, that the kinge was coming downe (and with him sir Thomas Borogh*), with grete power, into Lincolnshire, where the kinges jugges shulde sitte, and hang and draw grete noumbre of the comons. Wherfore, with as many as we might make be alle meanes possible, we came to Lincolne upon the Tuseday; and upon the Wenesday a servaunt of my said lord of Clarence, called Walter , yoman of his chawmbre, by his commaundment, told us the same, and that the gentilmen of the contre shuld passe upon us in such wyse that nedely gret multitud must dye of the comons; therupon desiring us to arise and procede in oure purpose, as we loved ourselfes. And for that my lord my fadir was att London, and peraventure shuld there be endaungered, which he ne wold, for that cause him self wold go to London to help excuse my sayd lord my fadir, and to delaye the kinges coming forth.

"The said Walter , servaunt of my lorde of Clarence, went with me to the feld, and toke grete parte of guiding of our hoost, nott departing from the same to the end. And afore that, as sone as I came to Lincolne, I sent sir John Clare to my lord of Warwike, to have understanding from him how he wold have us guidid forthwardes; but, for us semed he taried long, we sent hastily after him oon John Wright, of Lincolne, for the same cause; and thereupon I departed with oure hoost towardes Grantham; and in the way, aboute Temple Brewere, sir John Clare mett with me, saing of my lord of Warwikes behalfe, that he grett us welle, and bad us be of gode comforth, for he and my said lord of Clarence wold araise alle the peple they couth in alle hast, and come towardes us, and utterly take suche parte as we shuld take, saing over, that he saw my sayd lord of Warwike lay his hand on a boke that he wold so do. And so the said sir John Clare often times declared aforn the peple.

"The Sunday after came John Wright to Grantham, and broght me a ring from my said lord of Warwike, and desired me to go forward, bidding me and us alle be of gode comfort, for he was in araising alle that he might make, and wold be at Leycestre on Monday night with xx. Ml. men, and joyne with us. Wherefore he willed me to suffre the felaship that came with the king fro by south to passe northwardes, and yeve him the way, to th'entent he and we might be betwix them and the south.

"Also, when my lord my fadir went to London, he charged me that if I understode him att eny tyme to be in jupartye, I shuld with alle that I might make come to socoure him.

"Also, my lord of Clarence servaunt Walter , that cam to us to Lincolne, stured and meved often times our hoost, and in many places of the same, that att such tyme as the matir shuld come nerre the point of batelle they shuld calle upon my lord of Clarence to be king, and to distroye the kinge that so was aboute to distroye them and alle the realme: so ferforthly that, at such tyme as the king was beforne us in the feld he

* These words are erased with a pen.

toke a spere in his hand, and said he wold therwith as frely renne agains the king as agains his and his maister's mortalle enemy.

"Also, I have welle understand by many mesagges, as welle fro my lord of Clarence as of Warwike, that they entended to make grete risinges, as forforthly as ever I couth understand, to th'entent to make the duc of Clarence king: and so it was oft and largely noised in our hoost.

"Also, I say that ne had beene the said duc and erles provokinges, we at this tyme wold ne durst have maid eny commocion or sturing, but upon there comfortes we did that we did.

"Also, I say that I and my fadir had often times lettres of credence from my said lordes of Clarence and Warwike, of thankinges for our devoires, and praied us to continue our gode hertes and willes to the above sayd purpose. One that broght fro my lord of Clarence was called William Uwerke; oone that broght lettres from my lord of Warwike was called Philip Strangways;* of the other I remembre nott the names. The credence in substance rested onely in this, yevyng of thankes, praing to continue, and to sture and meve the peple to do the same; which lettres be to be broght forth."

(12.) *Prior of saint Johannes.* Sir John Longstrother, bailiff of the Eagle and seneschal of the reverend the high master of Rhodes, was elected prior of the hospital of saint John of Jerusalem in England, in the year 1469, and swore fealty to king Edward on the 18th November that year, and again to king Henry on the 20th Oct. 1470; see the documents recording both ceremonies in Rymer, vol. xi. pp. 650, 664, derived from the Close Rolls: and repeated at p. 670 from the Patent Rolls. Being a zealous Lancastrian, he was on the same day as last mentioned appointed treasurer of the exchequer (ibid. 665). On the 16th Feb. following king Henry sent him to conduct the queen and prince from France to England, and granted him "of oure tresoure cc. marc to have of oure yefte by way of rewarde, for his costs and expences in that behalve" (ibid. 693); and on the 24th of the same month, in conjunction with John Delves esquire, he was appointed warden of the mint (ibid. 698.)

He returned out of France with queen Margaret in April 1471, being "at that time called treasurer of England" (Fleetwood's MS.); and he was one of those who were beheaded after the battle of Tewkesbury.

(13.) *At Saint Johannes.* That is, at the preceptory of the order at Clerkenwell near London.

(14.) *The victorie.* The battle was fought "at Empyngham, in a felde called Horne-

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* A younger son of sir James Strangways, by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Philip lord Darcy and Meynell. His sister Margaret had for her second husband Richard Hastings lord Welles and Willoughby. See the Collectanea Topogr. et Genealogica, ii. 162.

felde." (Act of Attainder of Richard Welles, &c. 14 Edw. IV.) "The place where it was fought, about five miles north-west of Stamford, near the road to York, retains the name of *Bloody Oaks* to this day. We are told that some of the Lancastrians who fled from the battle threw off their coats, that they might not be incumbered by them in their flight; and that the field called *Losecote-field*, between Stamford and Little Casterton, which, by erroneous tradition, has been fixed upon as the field of battle, received its name from that circumstance. Perhaps that was the place where some of them were severely pressed by their pursuers." Blore's History of Rutland, fol. 1811, p. 142.

(15.) *His poor and wretched commons.* Edward's vindictive conduct towards all the nobility who opposed him is conspicuous throughout the history of his reign. Philip de Comines alludes to his practice in battle to call out to spare the common soldiers, and kill only the gentlemen; but states that at the battle of Barnet he did so no more, having conceived a mortal hatred against the commons of England, for the favour they had manifested towards the Earl of Warwick.

(16.) *Sir Thomas Delalande*, of Horbling in Lincolnshire, was a brother-in-law of lord Welles, as well as sir Thomas Dymmoke, having married his sister Katharine. In Nicolas's Testamenta Vetusta is the following brief extract of a will. "John De la Laund knight, being very aged, this 4th day of Feb. 1465 make my will. My body to be buried in the convent of the Augustine friars, London. Thomas my son. Proved April 4th, 1471." This, therefore, seems to have been the father's will, proved in consequence of the son's death.

Sir Thomas is, however, termed a Gascon both by Olivier de la Marche and by William of Wyrcestre, in their notices of the tournaments performed in London on the visit of the bastard of Burgundy (see the Excerpta Historica, 1831, pp. 213, 214). The bastard came accompanied by sire Jehan de Chassa and sir Philippe Bouton. The bastard himself was encountered by the lord Scales; sire Jehan de Chassa by Loys de Bretailles, a Gascon esquire, servant to lord Scales; and "on the morrow (says Olivier de la Marche) messire Philippe Bouton, (who was chief esquire to the comte de Charoloys,) did arms against an esquire of the king. This esquire was a Gascon, and was named Thomas de la Lande; and this Thomas was a fine companion, and a good man." The words of Wyrcestre are, "Et alio die sequenti (it was the 15th June 1467) congressi sunt in campo ibidem equites cum acutis lanceis Thomas de la Launde Gascon' contra . . . . Boton' Burgund' idemque Thomas de la Launde magis audacter et honorabiliter [*not* horribiliter, *as in the Excerpta Historica*] se habuit."

(17.) *John Down, one of the esquires of the king's body.* This was probably John Dwnn, of Kydweli, co. Carmarthen, who married Elizabeth, sister to William lord Hastings, the lord chamberlain; and whose portrait and that of his lady, both of them wearing king Edward's livery collar of roses and suns, is one of the most curious pictures in the duke of Devonshire's collection at Chiswick (and described in the Gentleman's Maga-

zine, Nov. 1840, vol. XIV. p. 489). His brother Harry Dwnn had fallen at the battle of Banbury; and there was another of the name there killed, who is styled "John Done of Kydwelli" in Warkworth's Chronicle: but from William of Worcestre's list of the slain, in which that person is described as "Henr. Don de Kedwelly: filius Ewin Don," combined with the present passage, it may probably be concluded that John Dwnn of Kidwelly, whose father's name was Griffith, did not fall in that battle. He is stated to have been buried at Windsor, or at Westminster. (Gent. Mag. ubi supra.)

(18.) *The king's proclamation* to this effect, dated at Stamford the 13th of March, has been printed, from the Close Rolls, in the notes appended to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 52.

(19.) *Coventry.* This city, lying in the immediate vicinity of the castles of Warwick and Kenilworth, was a place entirely under the control of the earl of Warwick. Here it was that earl Rivers and his son sir John Widville had lost their lives; and in the same neighbourhood the king himself had been seized and rendered a prisoner (as noticed in the Introduction). In order to ascertain whether the archives of Coventry contained any record of the commotions of the year 1470, I applied to Mr. William Reader, who when a resident there devoted much time to their investigation, and he has favoured me with the following document, which is a royal mandate, issued before the king's departure from Westminster, commanding the citizens to send their contingent to meet the king, and it is remarkable that the day on which they were appointed to meet him at Grantham, was the same on which the battle was fought near Stamford. Of course they had not reached him: in all probability, their march was altogether stayed through the influence of the earl of Warwick.

"This lettre was brought to the Meyr [of Coventry], the xix. day of Feverer, late in the evenyng, a°. ix°.

"By the Kynge.

"Trusty and welbyloved, we grete yow well, and for somuche as we be acertayned that our rebelles and owtward enemies intende in haste tyme to aryve in thys our royaume, and that certain our subgietts, ther adherents, contrary to ther duté and legiance, in divers parties of our lande arredy and assemble hemselfe for the reteyning of our sayd ennemies and rebelles, so that yffe their malice be not in briffe tyme mightily withstondon it myght growe to the grett juparté of us and the destruccion of al our trew subgietts, we therfor with alle diligence fully dispose us by Goddes grace to go in our own person to resiste ther sayde malicyows purpose, in the whiche it apperteinith of very ryght and dueté to every our subgietts to yeve on to us ther assistens with bodies and godes; wherfore we desire and pray yow, and natheles in the straitest wyse charge yow, that ye do sende unto us persones hable and of power wel and defensibly arayd to labour in our servise in suche competent nowmbre as ye may goodly beere, sufficiantly wagyd for, and that they be with us at our town of Grantham, the xij. day of Marche next coming, to wayte apon us in our sayd jornee; and, over that, that ye charge everi person beinge within your liberté or franches having eny office of our yefte, or of our derist wyfe the quene, for terme of hys

lyfe, wheroff the wagis extende to iij[d]. by the day or above, that he com unto us in his persone, if he be of power to laboure, or finde a souffisant man for hym at the sayd day and plase waged as aforne, and that everi persone having moo offices than oon of our grant, or of our sayd wyfe as above, with lyke fees or wages, that for everi such office he finde us a souffisant man as hit ys aforesayd, putting yow in suche devoir for the premisses that we may perceyve that ye tender the wele and suerté off us and our sayde royaume, as ye wol ansuer unto us at your perilles. Yeven onder owr signet, at our Paleys off Westminster, the ix. day of Feverer."

In pursuance of this letter twenty men were raised, and they were made to take the following oath:—

(The MS. is torn here) that were sende towards the kyng to Grantam. I shall be trewe [to the king my sovereign] lege lord, and truly abyde with hym at better and werse, and truly performe hym al manner [servyce, and] not depart from hym on to the ynde of owr reteygn, and tyll we may com to the kynges hyghnes we shall duly attende and wayte apon Wyllyam Shyppey, the meyrs serjant. I shan quarell with no persone onresonabely a monge owr selffe, but be well rulyd. So helpe me [God and] holydame.

In April following 40 men were raised in Coventry at 12*d.* a day, for a month, to go with king Edward into the South, and 100*l.* was collected from the ten wards to pay them.

(20.) *On Wednesday the 14th of March* the king was at Stamford, as appears by two documents in Rymer, one appointing ambassadors to Castille, the other constituting John earl of Worcester constable of England.

(21.) *The king's summons to the duke of Clarence.* This letter of summons has been printed by sir Henry Ellis in his Second Series of Original Letters, vol. i. p. 138, from a copy by Stowe in the MS. Harl. 543; but, as it there immediately follows a letter which Clarence and Warwick sent out of France, the editor was misled to attribute its date to the period of their return from that country.

(22.) *Sir William Parr* was a knight of the garter and comptroller of the royal household at the death of Edward IV. He had married the king's cousin-german, Elizabeth daughter and coheir of Henry lord Fitzhugh, by Alice daughter of Ralph earl of Westmerland and sister to Cecily duchess of York. His eldest son, sir Thomas, was the father of queen Katharine Parr. See further of him in Davies's York Records, 1843, p. 40.

(23.) *On Friday 23d March*, the king wrote from York "to Edmund Dudley esquyer, deputie lieftenaunt to our cousyn John erle of Worcestre, lieftenaunt of our lord of Ireland, and to our chauncellor and counceill there," announcing that he had discharged the duke of Clarence from the office of lieutenant of Ireland, and appointed the earl of Worcester thereto; and, suspecting that the duke and the earl of Warwick might repair to the said land, requiring them to be arrested, and offering to him that took either of them a reward of 100*l.* of land in yearly value, to him and to his heirs, or 1000*l.* in ready money, at his election. Rymer, xi. 654.

On Saturday the 24th the king issued at York the proclamation against the duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick, printed in the notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 53; which was followed by another dated at Nottingham, the 31st March, printed ibid. p. 56; and also in the Appendix to the Rolls of Parliament, vol. vi. p. 233.

On the 26th, the king, having discovered that the duke and earl were fled towards Devonshire, directed commissions of array to that and several other of the western counties; printed in Rymer, xi. 655.

On the last day of March Edward had come as far southwards as Nottingham, and thence wrote to the mayor, &c. of Salisbury, announcing that he purposed to pursue the rebels into the West, and charging them to provide a contingent for his service, and provisions to entertain an army of 40,000 men; this is printed in Hatcher's History of Salisbury, (Hoare's Modern Wiltshire,) fol. 1843, p. 174.

(24.) One of the "Paston Letters" (vol. II. Reign of Edward IV. Letter XXXII.) which was written from York on the 27th of March, confirms the present narrative in many particulars. It is as follows.

"To my cosyn, John Paston.

"The king camme to Grantham and there taried thoresday all day, and there was headed sir Thomas Dalalaunde, and one John Neille, a greate capteyn; and upon the Monday nexte after that at Dancastre, and there was headed sir Robert Wellys and anothre greate capteyn,* and than the king hadde warde that the duke of Clarence and the erle of Warwick was att [Ch]esterfeld,† xx. mile from Dancastre. And uppon the tewesday, at ix. of the bell, the king toke the feld, and mustered his people, and itt was seid that were never seyn in Inglond so many goodly men and so well arreiyed in a fild; and my lord ‡ was whorsshupfully accompanyed, no lord there so well; wherfor the king gaffe my lord a greate thanke; and than the duke of Clarence and the erle of Warwike harde that the king was comyng to them-warde, incontynent they departed, and wente to Manchestre in Lancasshire, hopyng to have hadde helpe and socour of the lord Stanley; § but in conclusion there they hadde litill favor, as it was enformed the king; and so men

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* Dr. Miller, in his History of Doncaster, 4to. p. 46, has here appended a note stating that "this great captayn was sir Ralph Grey of York, who was taken the year 1463 by the Yorkists in the battle of Bamburgh;" but that was a distinct occurrence, which had passed seven years before, and is very incorrectly stated by Dr. Miller. Sir Ralph Grey, of Wark (*not* York) was captain of the castle of Bamborough for king Henry; it was taken by assault soon after the battle of Hexham in June 1464, and sir Ralph was thereupon brought to king Edward, who happened to be then at Doncaster, and forthwith beheaded. See a particular narration of these events, from a MS. in the College of Arms, in the notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 36.

† This place is printed Esterfield, in Sir John Fenn's modernised version; and was conjectured to be Austerfield by the Editor of the 12mo. edition, in 1841.

‡ "I believe it means John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk."—Fenn.

§ Thomas lord Stanley was lord steward of the king's household (Fœdera, xi. 845). He

sayn they wente Westward, and som men demen to London. And whan the king harde they wer departed and gone, he went to York, and came theder the thoresday next aftre, and there camme into hym alle the gentilmen of the shire ; and uppon our Lady day made Percy erle of Northumberland,† and he that was erle affore markeys Muntakew,‡ and the king is purposed to come Southwarde. God send hym god spede. Writen the xxvij. day of March. (Signed, in place of a name, thus—) "for trowyth."

It may here be remarked that letter xxxvi. of vol. IV. of the Paston Letters evidently belongs to this year, 1470, and not to 1462, to which it was assigned by the editor. It was written at Stamford the 13th day of March, " by youre sone and servant, John Paston the older," to John Paston, at the Inner Temple, the writer being then in attendance on the king, and charged to have his horse and harness in constant readiness. Sir John Fenn imagined it was written from a place named Stamford either in Northumberland or Yorkshire.

(24.) *Lord Scrope.* It appears doubtful whether this was John lord Scrope of Bolton, K.G. or Thomas lord Scrope of Upsal and Masham, who were both living at this period. No other notice of either of them opposing the authority of king Edward has been found.

(25.) *Sir John Conyers*, of Hornby Castle, co. York (afterwards a K.G. in the reign of Richard III.) had commanded the army of Northern men which defeated the king's friends at Edgecote, near Banbury, and his eldest son, James, was killed in that battle (see Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 7). His wife was a cousin of the earl of Warwick, namely, Alice, daughter and coheir of William Neville lord Fauconberg, and earl of Kent.

(26.) *Young Hilliard of Holdreness.* This was the popular leader of the Northern insurrection, who was best known by the name of "Robin of Riddesdale." His father, sir William Hilliard, or Hildyard, had fallen on the Lancastrian side at the battle of Towton, and the son had probably been reared under a forfeiture of his estates, which were at Winestead, near Pocklington. From whence he derived his popular name has not been ascertained. Sir Robert Hildyard was afterwards knighted at the coronation of Richard III. and was the ancestor of sir Robert Hildyard, a colonel in the army of Charles the First, whose loyalty was at the Restoration rewarded with a baronetcy, which continued in the family to the year 1814.

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was brother-in-law to the earl of Warwick, having married lady Alianor Neville. He was afterwards the husband of Margaret countess of Richmond, mother of king Henry VII. and was created earl of Derby.

† "Herry Percy" had been released from the Tower of London, and had sworn fealty to king Edward at Westminster, on the 27th Oct. 1469. See the Memorandum upon the Close Rolls recording the ceremony printed in Rymer, xi. 649.

‡ It was at York that sir John Neville had first received the earldom of Northumberland, six years before, in May 1464. See Notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 36.

BULL

OF

POPE INNOCENT VIII.

ON THE

MARRIAGE OF HENRY VII. WITH ELIZABETH OF YORK.

COMMUNICATED BY

J. PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ. TREAS. S. A.

TREASURER OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XL.VII.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following historical relic of typography may be worth preserving in "The Camden Miscellany." It clearly belongs to the early part of the reign of Henry VII. who was married to Elizabeth of York, on 18th Jan. 1485. It is the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. approving that "matrimony and conjunction."

It is a folio broadside, and the oldest that has descended to our time: on this account, if on no other, it merits notice; especially as it must have been printed by William Caxton, and is nowhere mentioned among the works from his press. The type is the same as that he employed for various well-known productions, and some misprints will be observed, such as "Duchre" for Duchie in the first paragraph, &c. It is given exactly as it stands in the original, even to the most minute observation of the points. In several instances the word "Pope" has been erased or defaced by some zealous reformer, into whose hands the document fell, perhaps fifty or sixty years after it was printed.

I met with it as the fly-leaf of an old book; and various defects, indicated by brackets, have been caused by the fore-edge of the paper having been cut away as a little too

large for the purpose. In two other places the document is worm-eaten, and it must have been followed by something that has now been lost.

Among the fragments in Lambeth Library (as appears by the Rev. S. R. Maitland's excellent and most useful "Index" 8vo. 1845) is preserved a Bull by Pope Alexander, dated Non. Octobris, 1494, which recites that of Innocent VIII. in 1845. What follows is, however, the original. I apprehend that the Bull of Pope Alexander, like that of Pope Innocent, was obtained from the cover of some venerable volume, having been used as waste by the binder.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Kensington, June, 1847.

P.S. Mr. J. G. Nichols has referred me to Rymer's *Fœdera,* xii. 297, edit. 1727, where the Latin Bull is preserved at length. The main curiosity of that I send is the popular form in which it was printed and circulated in England—the earliest instance of the kind yet discovered.

BULL OF POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Our holy fadre, the Pope Innocent the viij. To the ꝑpetuall memory of this he [ ] to be hade, by his ꝑpre mocion without ꝑcurement of our soverayn lord the Kyng or other person for consernacyon of the vniuersal peas and eschewyng of Sklaundres, and to engendre the contrary of the same. Vnderstanding of the longe and greuous variaunce, contentions, and debates that hath ben in this Realme of Englond betwene the house of the Duchre of Lancastre on the one party, And the house of the Duchre of Yorke on that other party. Wylling alle suche diuysions [ ] following to be put apart By the Counsell and consent of his College of Cardynalles approveth confirmyth and stablishyth the matrimonye and coniuncion made betwene our soũayn lord King Henre the seuenth of the house of Lancastre of that one party And the noble Princesse Elyzabeth of the house of Yorke of that other [party] with all thaire Issue laufully borne betwene the same

And in lyke wise his holines cōfermeth stablishith and approueth the right and title to the Crowne of England of the sayde oure souerayn lorde Henry the seuenthe, and the heires of his body laufully begoten to hym [ ] ꝑteynīg aswel by reason of his nyghest and vndouted title of succession as by the right of his most noble [ ] and by eleccyon of the lordes spyrituales and temporales, and other nobles of his Realme and by the [ ] naunce and auctorite of parlyament made by the .iij. states of this lande

Also our saide holy Fadre the Pope of hys propur mocyon by hyegh and holy commaundement [ ] requireth eũy inhabitant of this lande and euery subgiect in the same of what degree, state or condicion [ ] that non of theym by occasion of any successyon, or by any other coloure or cause within this Realme [by hym] selfe, or other mediate persones attempte, in worde, or dede ayenst the sayd oure souerayn lorde, or the [heires] of his body lawfully begoten, contrary to the peas of him and his Realme, vppon the payne of his grete curse [and Ana] theme, the whiche thay and euery of thaim that so attempteth, fallyth in forth right by that selfe dede done: the whiche curse and Anatheme noo man hath power to assoyle thaym: but our holy Fadre him selfe [or his speci]all depute to the same

Forthermore he approueth confirmeth and declareth. That yf hit please god that the sayde Elizabeth whiche God forbede shulde decesse withoute Issue bytwene oure souerayn lorde and hir of thair bodyes borne than suche Issue as bytwene hym and hir whome after that God shall ioyne him to shalbe hade and borne [ ] heritours to the same croune and realme of Englande, Commaundyng that noo man attempte the [ ] the payne of his grete curse, whiche thay and euery of thaym soo doynge fallyth in, in the selfe dede done and may not be assoyled but by hym or his speciall depute to the same.

Ouer this the same our holy Fadre yeueth his blyssing to alle princes nobles and other inhabitants of this Realme or outwarde that fauoureth aydeth and assisteth the sayde our souerayne lorde and his heires [ ] or thaire rebelles, Yeuing thayme that dye in his and thayr querrall full and plenarye Pardon, and [remissi]on of all thaire synnes.

Fynally he commaundeth alle Metropolitanes and Bisshopes vpon the payne of interdiccion of [ ] the Chirche Abbotes Prioures Archydecones Pareshpriestes Priores and wardeyns of the frerys and [other] men of the chirche Exempte and not Exempte opon payñ of his grete curse, whiche thay fallyth in [ ] it not to

denũce and declare or cause to be denũced and declared alle suche contrary doers and rebelles [ ] suche time as thay to the same in the name of the sayd õ soũayn Lorde shalbe requyred with aggraua[tion of the] same curse yf the case shall so require So that if thay for drede shall not moue to publisshe the same [ ] them lefull to curse theire resistentis to the same and to oppresse theim by power temporall, whiche [ ] calle for theire assistence to the same in the sayde our holy fader's Name

And as touching the articles of this Bulle The Popys holines by this presente Bulle derog[ ] maketh voide all maner grauntes, Priueleges and Exempcions made by hym or hys predecessors [ ] ny persone or place where as they shulde or myghte be preiudiciall to the execucion of this presētis [ ] alle suche as expressely reuoked by thys same as thaugh they were written worde by worde within the presentis Bulles as by hit ondre leyde here more largely doith apere

JOURNAL

OF

THE SIEGE OF ROUEN,

1591.

BY SIR THOMAS CONINGSBY,

OF HAMPTON COURT, CO. HEREFORD.

EDITED BY

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ.

F.S.A. LOND. AND NEWC.

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INTRODUCTION.

The present fragment, though belonging to the history of another country, claims the attention of the Camden Society, not merely from having been written by an Englishman, but also because it relates principally to the services of an army of English auxiliaries. The narrative does not include the whole period of their campaign, but it supplies an account of the greater part of it. It appears to have been written in the form of letters, which were despatched to some friend at a distance,* and afterwards transcribed in a consecutive form.

Commencing on the 13th of Aug. 1591, when the earl of Essex, the English general, was still near Dieppe, the port at which he landed, it proceeds day by day to the 6th of September. It is then suspended until the 3rd of the following month; when it is resumed, and thenceforward continued to the 24th of December, at which period it was again closed, in order to be transmitted to the friend for whose information it had been written. Whether the events which occurred in the month of September, and those which followed the 24th of December, were ever described by the same writer, it would now be vain to conjecture; but it must be regretted that we have not his account of the first demonstration made by the Englishmen before Rouen; in which the earl of

* See passages in pp. 33 ("no more tyll the nexte."), 60, 61, and the concluding paragraph in p. 65.

Essex had not only the misfortune to lose his only brother, but also to incur the censure of his detractors at home, and the displeasure of his royal mistress.

The true author of this Journal has not been ascertained without much difficulty. It has been attributed in one quarter * to the celebrated sir Henry Wotton. Such appropriation could not be reconciled with the authentic biography of that eminent man. Although he was closely attached to the earl of Essex at a subsequent period, there can be little doubt that throughout the year 1591 he was travelling in remote parts of the continent. This is shown by his letters to lord Zouch.† He arrived at Vienna on the 11th Nov. 1590, and remained there until the 21st April 1591. Early in February 1592 he left Padua, after some residence there, and on the 25th April following he *returned* to Florence; and, although we have no positive evidence of his place of sojourn during the period of the present diary, it was clearly in the south of Germany or in Italy; and, had he been in Normandy, his correspondence at this period would surely have contained some allusion to the circumstance.

The MS. has inscribed upon it, by the hand of Humphry Wanley:

"Written by Mr. Wotton."

and as there were three elder brothers of sir Henry Wotton, the sons of his father's first marriage, their history has also been considered. Sir John, the second, was certainly engaged in the campaign of 1591, and was one of the knights made by the earl of Essex, on the 8th October; but he is twice mentioned in the Journal (pp. 40, 49), and in the former place distinctly as a different person from the writer.

* Sale Catalogue of Mr. Bright's Manuscripts, Lot 276; which was evidently another copy of the same Journal, as shown by the passage there given, which is the same as that in p. 44, though slightly differing in language. It is supposed to have passed into the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.

† Printed in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

The identity of the Author has at length been ascertained through his mentioning his cousin sir Philip Boteler,* coupled with the circumstance of his officiating as the muster-master of the army.† These facts combined have contributed to fix the authorship upon sir Thomas Coningsby, who is placed third in precedence among the twenty-four knights made by the lord generall on the 8th of October.‡ Sir Thomas Coningsby and sir Philip Boteler § were second cousins, inasmuch as they were both great-grandsons of sir Humphrey Coningsby, justice of the king's bench; and that sir Thomas Coningsby was muster-master is shown bý a letter of lord Burghley.||

Sir Thomas Coningsby was the son and heir of Humphrey Coningsby esquire, of Hampton Court, co. Hereford, and a gentleman pensioner to queen Elizabeth, by Anne daughter of sir Thomas Inglefield, one of the judges of the common pleas. He was elected to parliament for the city of Hereford in 1593 and 1601, and intermediately was sheriff of the county in 1598. On the 12th Nov. 1617 he was appointed one of the council to William lord Compton, lord president of the marches of Wales.

Fuller, in his Worthies, meeting with the name of Sir Thomas Coningsby among the sheriffs of Herefordshire, remarks, "I have heard from some of this county a pretious report of his memory, how he lived in a right worshipful equipage, and founded a place in Hereford for poor people, but to what proportion of revenue they could not inform me." The institution to which Fuller thus vaguely alludes is that of which Sir Thomas began the foundation

* See pp. 48, 49. He also mentions another cousin, sir Richard Acton, whose degree of relationship has not been discovered.

† See pp. 29, 60, 61. ‡ See p. 71.

§ Sir Philip Boteler's mother was Anne, daughter of John Coningsby esquire of North Mimms in Hertfordshire, younger brother of Thomas Coningsby esquire of Hampton Court, co. Hereford, the father of Humphrey, father of sir Thomas. See the pedigree of Boteler in Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, vol. ii. p. 477, and that of Coningsby in vol. i. p. 444.

|| See p. 73.

in the year 1614, for superannuated soldiers and servants. The pious and affectionate feeling which gave birth to it in the mind of the veteran, was expressed in an elevated strain in the preamble of the deed* enrolled in Chancery upon the occasion, which shews that he had experienced some of the rude buffets of the world. "The said Sir Thomas Coningsby, to the honour of God, the father of every good and perfect gift, in thankfulness to him for his defence and protection, as well in foreign travels as by sea and land, as also for his preservation against malice and evil practices at home, in submission to his chastisements upon the person of the said Sir Thomas, which have disabled his body in this world, and enobled his mind and thoughts to the expectation of a world to come, and with a Christian hope and humble supplication to him for his blessing on his posterity, now depending on the last of six sons, which he had by his worthy and virtuous wife Philippa, the daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliams; and being seized in fee of houses, lands, and parcels of the commandry, which were the inheritance of those knights of St. John of Jerusalem, formerly employed in the sustentation of Christian valour and courage, the said Sir Thomas ordained and constituted that all that quadrangle or square building of stone (&c. here it is described as to site) should be and remain a hospital for ever, under the name of 'Coningsby's Company of Old Servitors,' in the suburbs of the city of Hereford."

Sir Thomas Coningsby died May 30, 1625, having married Philippa, second daughter of sir William Fitzwilliam, of Milton near Peterborough, lord deputy of Ireland; by whom he had issue a numerous family. Fitzwilliam, his only surviving son and successor, was grandfather of Thomas first earl of Coningsby. Of his daughters, Katharine was married to Francis Smallman, of Kinar-

* An abstract of this deed, and of the rules of the institution, may be seen in Duncumb, Collections for Herefordshire, vol. i. p. 405 et seq.; or in Price's Historical Account of the City of Hereford, Appendix, p. 213 et seq.

desley castle, co. Hereford, esquire; Elizabeth, to sir Humphry Baskerville, of Erdesley castle, co. Hereford; and Anne to sir Richard Tracy of Hatfield, co. Hereford, knt.

The Siege of Rouen is well known in the history of France as one of the incidents of the wars of the League. The city was seized and garrisoned by that party in the year 1590. After considerable delay in his preparations, Henri IV. invested it on the 11th November 1591. The siege was raised on the approach of the duke of Parma on the 20th April following.

Queen Elizabeth was prevailed upon, early in the year 1591, to send forces in aid of the protestant king of France, as she then had reason to esteem him. "In the moneth of Aprill," says Stowe, "three thousand footmen were sent from hence into Brytaine in France under the conduction of sir John Norris knight, to joyne with the prince Dombes, son of the duke Montpensier, and general of the French king's forces in that province; which companies have sithence beene from time to time supplied." This army continued to serve in Britany, under the command of sir John Norris,* but did not unite with that afterwards committed to the charge of the earl of Essex.

The negociations for despatching this second army were completed in the month of June;† and the following month was spent in mustering men, and in the other busy measures of preparation.

* "A Journall of the honourable service by the renowmed knight S. John Norrice, generall of the English and French forces, performed against the French and Spanish Leaguers in Fraunce 1591," is appended to Churchyard's Civill Wars in the Netherlands, 4to. 1602, pp. 119—133. It extends from April 11, 1591, to March 1, 1592.

† "June 25. A graunt to send 4,000 foot in to France, which be in Normandy, under the E. Essex.

"—— 29. The French ambassador bound for the payment.

"July 19. The queen at my houss to see the erle of Essex horss in Covent Garden.—3,000 men appoynted to be imbarked for Depe to serve under the erle of Essex.

"—— 21. The erle of Essex's commission for Normandy.

"August 3. The erle of Essex landed at Diepe." Lord Burghley's Diary.

"The xxth of this moneth," writes sir Thomas Wylkes to sir Robert Sydney, "my lord of Essex intendeth to imbarque with his troopes of 4,000 men for Normandy; in which expedicion sir Thomas Sherley and myself were appointed counsaillors to the earle, which with much adoe we have avoyded (as I hope); and I have not knowen so gallant a troope goe out of England with so many young and untrained commanders." *

Sir Thomas Leighton and sir Henry Killigrew were those who afterwards went as councillors to the lord generall.

There are large materials for the history of this war among the papers of sir Henry Unton, who was at the same time sent by queen Elizabeth to reside with the French king, and to watch the events of the campaign. Of those papers one voluminous portion is preserved in the Cottonian collection: † and some documents from that source are printed in the 16th volume of Rymer's Fœdera.‡ To have attempted any further selection from them on the present occasion would have been quite to overburthen this slight brochure; but there is one which the editor would have been tempted to give, viz. "Notes of the incidents relating to the earl of Essex's expedition, with their dates," at fol. 76,—had not the greater part of the dates been unfortunately burnt away from the margin by the Cottonian fire. A few passages, however, of sir Henry Unton's despatches have been placed in the notes, because they directly illustrate the statements of the Journal.

* Letter dated 11th July, 1591. Sidney Papers, i. 327.

† MS. Cotton. Caligula C. VIII. In the memoir of sir Henry Unton, contained in the introduction to The Unton Inventories, which I edited for the Berkshire Ashmolean Society in 1841, I have given some notice of this volume, as also of another relating to the same embassy preserved in the Bodleian Library, No. 3498. A third volume of sir Henry Unton's papers has since made a transient appearance before the public at the sale of Mr. Bright's collection of MSS. in 1844, lot 263, and is now in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. (See the Gentleman's Magazine, Aug. 1844, vol. xxii. p. 151.)

‡ Some of sir Christopher Hatton's letters in the same volume have been recently edited in his "Life and Times" by Sir Harris Nicolas.

Of French historians for this period, beside the more popular Memoirs of Sully (which do not, however, furnish dates), and the general works of Matthieu, Mezeray, &c. we have the Memoires de la Ligue, and the Chronologie Novenaire of Cayet.* From these and other sources, a few other notes have been added; together with some brief biographical memoranda, identifying the young English captains, many of whom were of high birth, and some, as sir Robert Cary, sir Harry Danvers, sir Oliver St. John, and sir Thomas Fairfax, became men of considerable eminence in the history of the next century.

The only English account of the same campaign that has previously been published, is that contained in sir Robert Cary's autobiographical Memoirs, from which a few illustrative passages have been appended.

THE manner in which armies were constituted at the period of this Journal differed in so many respects from their present arrangements, that a few prefatory observations on that subject may be acceptable; for, without such explanation, some of the terms employed by the writer may be liable to misapprehension. Most of those terms are indeed still in use, but their import has considerably changed.

There was only one generall of the army, whose full designation was lieutenant-generall, he being considered the *locum tenens* and representative of his sovereign, when that sovereign was not present with the army. He was, says Francis Markham, "sometimes styled generall, as Leicester in the Low Countries, or lieutenant as the earl of Essex in Ireland, or lieutenant-generall as the earl of Ormond."† He was also usually styled "lord

* There was a "Discours du Siege de la ville de Rouen au mois de Novembre, 1591, écrit par le capitaine G. Valdori," printed at Rouen in 1592; but of this there is no copy in the British Museum.

† F. Markham's Decades of Warre, 1622, fol. p. 198.

generall," as ambassadors were styled "my lord ambassador;"* but the title was not permanent any more than the function.

There was also one marshall, an officer of high consequence,† but inferior to the generall.

A battalion was termed a "battayle:" thus "our battayle" in p. 11, and "the battayle of the Swizers," p. 26.

Each regiment had a colonell or coronell,‡ appointed by the generall, and the colonell appointed one lieutenant-colonell. During the campaign before us, on colonell Cromwell resigning his appointment, in order to return home, the earl of Essex gave his regiment to captain Cary, who thereupon made choice of captain Power to be his lieutenant-colonell.§

The companies were then frequently termed bands. Each band had its captain, who like the colonell nominated his lieutenant, but not more than one. Thus, at p. 33 of the present Journal, we read that captain Barton's lieutenant was slain; and sir Robert Cary resigned his captaincy to sir Francis Rich, "who was lieutenant of my company before." The number of men in a band varied. Describing the Spanish armies sir Roger Williams says, "their commissions for foote bands are like unto ours, some ensigns 300, some 200, the most of an 150."‖

Sir Robert Cary, when he started on the campaign of 1591, "was a captain of one hundred and fifty men," and even in that rank his expenses were great. "This journey (he adds) was very chargeable to mee, for I carried with mee a waggon with five horses to draw it. I carried five great

* Sir Henry Unton dying when ambassador lieger in France in 1596, was buried with the state due to a baron. The same honour was also formerly paid to the body of a lord mayor of London dying when in office.

† "The office of the marshall is painful and great, for he medleth with the whole affaires of the warres." Sir Roger Williams's Discourse of Warre, p. 14. "The lord-marshall of an armie, above all other officers, ought to be a most approved soldier . . . for this man above all others hath the greatest place of action and direction in all the armie." Markham, p. 189.

‡ As in all ages, men of high birth were sometimes placed over the heads of men of experience. "The martial Byron would say also, these coronells of three days marres all the armies of the world." So reports sir Roger Williams; and, speaking on his own authority, he remarks in another place: "A man may be sufficient to conduct a private companie, and not sufficient to command a regiment; likewise sufficient for a coronell, and not for a generall." Preface to Discourse of Warre, 1590.

§ Memoirs of sir Robert Cary, earl of Monmouth, p. 33.

‖ Discourse of Warre, p. 17.

horses over with mee, and one little ambling nagge; and I kept a table all the while I was there that cost me thirty pounds a weeke, which was from Midsummer to almost Christmasse; and yet God so blessed mee that I never wanted, but hee still sent me means to supply my wants."

The cavalry, says sir Roger Williams, was divided by the Spaniards "into an 100, under a cornet;" that is, into troops of 100 each; but as "the advantagers and adventurers," that is, the volunteers, generally marched with the generall, his cornet was always four or five hundred. Thus, in p. 14 of the present Journal, the "gentlemen adventurers, which made about 40 horses," were all attendant on the lord-generall in his march, and his brother master Devereux led the rear of the cornet. It will be observed that the words cornet here and ensign above are applied to the troop or company, and not to their officers.

The old English horseman was called a man-at-arms. He was fully and heavily "armed;" that is, incased in defensive armour, for so was the word applied. "The men of arms," says Williams, "never breake their soft paces, unless they charge or retire." He also states that "a man of armes ought to have five horses; for every horse he receives as much pay as a launtier," or lancer. But there were probably few, if any, cavaliers of this class with the English army in France in 1591, unless among the gentlemen adventurers.

The greater part of the English cavalry were light horsemen, called "lawnces" in p. 14. Williams states that another common name for them was "demilances," and he afterwards compares "our Northern speares, [that is, those bred and employed on the Scotish borders,] light horsemen we tearme them," with "the light horsemen tearmed by the strangers hargulatiers, as much to say hargabushes or petronels on horseback." The French hargulatiers are continually mentioned in the present Journal, and some English "harquebuz on horseback" at p. 21. In the description of the sally made by the besieged in p. 57, it will be seen that their cavalry was of three arms,—"150 horse in three squadrons, one of lawnces with orange-tawnye bandrolls, the others pystoliers, both well armed, [that is, as before remarked, protected by armour,] and the third harquebuz on horseback." The last were the same as the hargulatiers, and the pistoliers resembled those which the Germans called reiters (see the note in p. 68).

There was the like variety of weapon in a regiment of foot. Of every hundred men forty were protected by armour, that is, corslets or breast and back plates, and morions or steel hats. Of these thirty were pikemen, for *defence* against the horse, and who had also swords and daggers; and ten carried shorter weapons, called halberts or bills, with targets on their left arms. The sixty others were "shot,"—for *offence*, men who had fire-arms, either the caliver, which had a barrel about 2 feet 6 inches long, or the musket, the barrel of which was 4 feet 6 inches, and it was discharged upon a rest. The last had been recently introduced when sir Roger Williams wrote; and he has a chapter, "To proove muskatiers the best small shot that ever were invented." He prefers 500 muskets to twice the number of calivers, although he admits the latter might discharge two shots for one of the other.* The intention of another of his chapters is "To prove the pike the most honourable weapon carried by footemen;" whilst he vigourously opposes the expiring prejudices of his countrymen in favour of archery, maintaining that bowmen were "the worst shot used in these days," and that "five hundred musketers are more serviceable than fifteen hundred bowmen." As regards this important change in the military art, the Discourse of Warre is a treatise of much curiosity.

* Humphrey Barwick says a musket would kill the armed of proof at 200 yards, men in common armour at 400 yards, and unarmed men at 600. Discourse concerning the force and effect of all manual Weapons of Fire, and the disability of the Long Bowe or Archery, &c.—For this and several of the preceding quotations the Editor begs to acknowledge his obligations to Bolton Corney, esq. M.R.S.L. one of the Council of the Camden Society.

A JORNALL OF CHEIFE THINGES HAPPENED IN OUR JORNEY FROM DEAPE, (1) THE 13. OF AUGUSTE, UNTYLL (*blank*).

[MS. Harl. 288. f. 253—279. Contemporary.]

Auguste 13. UPON Satterdaie, beinge the 13. of Auguste, my lord,(2) havinge intelligence that those of Roan mente to give him a camisado* in the nighte, in his army provided all things necessarie to welcome them, together with a determynation, that if they came not that nyghte, then the next morninge he would have surprysed some of them in some of their owne holds and fortresses nere adjoynynge; and for that purpose had caused all his owne cariage-horses and others of th'armye (which would have been above five or six score horses) to be in a-readiness to mownte his beste muskatiers upon. And being ordering of all those things, sir Roger Williams came from the kinge with letters.(3) Whereupon he resolved to goe the nexte mornynge to the kynge, with all his lawnces, and many other voluntarie gentlemen, with a commaundment that none should carrie baggage, but merely a shirte.

Aug. 14. And so upon Sounday, beinge the 14. of Auguste, aboute 12. of the clocke, he tooke horse, and went that nyght to a towne called Newchastell, 16 English miles from Deape, in a verie hot daie, wonderfullie dusted, and pestered w[ith flies, where we came†] aboughte 10 a'clocke at nyghte.

Aug. 15. From thence, the nexte mornynge by vi. we were on horsebacke, marchynge towards Gisors, being put in verie good order at the yssuinge forth of the gate by the marshall sir Roger Williams;(4) and so, passing thorowe the countrie, lead by men sent by the kinge, thorowe the moste champyon

* A surprise: see The Leycester Correspondence, p. 319. † Worn away in MS.

and open places (but verie much about and out of our waie), we made above 10 leagues that daie, although it be accompted but 13 leagues betwixte Newchastell and Gisors, being all devotyonated to th'ennemye: but in this waie we saw of all sorts of people (besides those that came in our owne companye,) not ten persons. We found the villages and howses utterlie abandoned, but yet mylke, syder, freshe water, and bread almoste in everie house readye sett to relieve our soldiers, which the footboyes and groomes broughte to their masters, for there was noe straggling out of the waie, for th'ennemye did attend us from hill to hill, only, as it seemed, to viewe and discover us; for if they had had any other intention (whereof a nombre that were of goodwill were verie sorie) they had verie convenyent means, we passing betwixte Gorney and Girberrey, both of them beinge in our sighte at once, th'one not dystante a league from us, and th'other not above halfe a league, being both townes of garrison of th'ennemye, both of horses and footmen, and the countrie verie apte, beinge somewhat close and upon straights betwixte hills, for ambushes: but when we recovered the hill in the sighte of Girberey, the marshall commaunded to hold;* and where before all the daie we had marched with our hargelatires† some myle before us, (being to the nombre of some 30 or 40,) many gentlemen's servants put themselves into that companie for that daies march. Next followed the lord generall, with all the gentlemen adventurers, which made about 40 horses; after them a squadron of lawnces ledd by one of the corporalls; then all the carriages, wagons, and carriadge horses; and after them the reste of all the cornett, ledd by master Devorax.(5) Upon the hill the lord generall commaunded all the trumpeters together, raunginge our selves upon the said place within the sighte of both the forenamed townes. His lordship commaunded them to sound, which was done with a verie greate lyvelynes. All the while we discovered soundrie companies of horses upon hills and places of advauntage, but to noe greate nombre, for the moste we could

* *i. e.* halt. † hargulatiers: see the Introductory Observations.

understand by men of dyscretion that wente to discover, were not above 40 horses. The which, if they had doan their endeavour, although fyftie tymes so many durste not have foughte with us, yet might they have sore troubled us in our march, our cariages being many, and our passages disadvantageous, and lykewise we much wearyed towards nighte, being on horsebacke from before vi. in the mornynge tyll 2 a'clock the nexte mornynge, not wantinge fully one howre, where we baited in the open field our horses upon the growing corne, and the reste of such as was provyded and brought along with us; where, under a wyndmyll, upon one of the lord generall's sumpter clothes, there we being garded all the while with th'one halfe of the horses while th'other were feedinge, and having staid not fully an howre, there was intelligence browghte by our carbynes, that they discovered upon the hills nere adjoynynge to the waie we were to goe, being nere to Gorney and Girberey, both towns of th'ennemye, and of stronge garrison both of horse and foote, soundrie troupes of horses. Whereupon there was commaundment given to everie one their caskes,* having ridden with all the reste of their peeces all the daie before; and so we proceeded tyll we came up to the hill nere Gerberey, within halfe a myle, and not a full league from Gorney, continuyng of our jorney to Gisors, where we arryved at ij. of the clocke the nexte mornynge; and so by computation we had marched 20, excepting our bayting howre, being let in at an extraordinarie tyme and used with greate favor by monsieur Flavancourte there governor for the king, who feasted the lord generall.

Aug. 18. The nexte mornynge we tooke our jorney towards Clermonte, being the 18 of Auguste, having Beavor (Beauvais) and Pontois, both towns of th'ennemye, with strong garrison, on either side of us: and being past Longueville his house, by vi. a clocke in the morninge, we entered into a goodly plaine countrie, where having ridden but ii. howres, the espyalls came and gave intelligence how they saw greate dust aryse, as if they had bene greate troupes of horse: whereupon our marshall, being mownted upon

* casques, or head pieces.

one of the lord generall's hobbyes, wente to dyscover with some other fewe gentlemen, who returned unto us with assurance that it was th'ennemye. But those whom they had dyscovered were not above 50, as he said; yet fearing that there mighte be nere unto a wood some others, whom we could not dyscover, yt was commaunded that everie one should put himselfe in armes and in readines, and mownte upon their beste horses, and with our caskes on. In a verie hott daie we rode iii. howres tyll we came to a castle called Meru, which being well barrocaded, we dyned there with such provision as we had broughte with us; the lord generall commaunding by sound of trumpett that noe man should take any thinge but what he paid for. After a small rest there, we marched on towards Clermonte, passing by monsieur de Mois castle, being utterlie battered and burnte by th'ennemye, being a verie zealous man, and mightylie hated of th'ennemye;(6) and so at ix. a'clock at nighte wee arryved at Clermonte, where we were most badly lodged, and I thinke noe one man that nighte laie eyther in bed or sheets; the town having by assault bene taken and ransacked twise in one yeare. The nexte morninge by vi. a' clocke we tooke our jorney towards Compeign, being a wonderfull goodly plaine countrie; and beinge some twoe leagues upon our waie accompanyed with the governor of Clermonte, and a troupe of some 24 horses with him, there was intelligence brought by our light horses that they had some greate suspicion of some ambushment in a wood that laie nere our waie, because they had dyscovered some horses in the edge of the wood; whereupon there was commaundment given every one to arme. The governor of Clermonte sente his troupe with his lieutenante, who, going [to] the wood, said he dyscovered them taking their waie towards Pontois. After their retorne, we all disarmed our selves of our headpeces, and so road tyll we came to Compaign, where we were all marshalled five in a ranke: entering so into the said towne, we remayned there all that daie, and the next daie, beinge well loged, my lord invited for solace monsieur Revience, lieutenante-governor of Picardye, where a great nomber of ladies were

gathered together, not without dauncing and musicke. His lordship, accompanyed by monsieur d'O, great threasorer of Fraunce, and governor of the Isle of Fraunce, together with the marquis of Pisana,(7) who lykewise was sente from the kinge to conducte and accompanie my lord generall to the kinge, who was come from Noyoun unto a castle in the mydeste of the waie, called *(blank)* from *(blank)* Compeign, to receave him. At the gate thereof the baron Bironne mett him, and conducted him to the kinge, who was in a garden attended with the duke Longueville,(8) the counte St. Poll,(9) and many more, receaving my lord with greate demonstrations of kyndness and favour, and we the lyke of his nobles. After a long discorse betwene the kinge and our generall, the king ledd him into a castle, where he banqueted him; and afterwards was by the marques of Pisana and many other nobles conducted out of the towne, and conveyed into a village an English mile off; but before his arrivall there, the kinge, attended with some ii. or iii., overtooke my lord rydyng with his band, sayinge unto all the trayne in English, "You are welcome;" and having brought my lord to his lodginge, and remayning there half an howre with him, retorned attended by my lord and his companie to his owne quarter. We were verie well lodged in that village for provision of our horses; but noe man lay there upon or in any bed, but only my lord who brought it with him, but we had our choice of strawe and hay inough.

Aug. 20. The nexte morning my lord went unto the king, where we were at a preaching in his owne chamber, for he hath noe publique place, but preacheth in his house: the which donne, he wente to dynner, my lord dynyng with him by his commandment, and we with his grand esquire. After dynner my lord, by the king's commandment, being accompanyed only with a dozen gentlemen, did attend him to Noyoun,(10) which he lately besieged and tooke by composition; where, besides all other places of Fraunce which we had passed, we might see and beholde the pyttyful and firie sicknes, and tokens of their lamentable warrs, the countrie being

spoiled about, the bridges broken, all the suburbes of the towne burned, their orchards and gardens utterlie destroyed, their churches beaten downe, the walls rente, the towne within most fylthie, and breifly the countenance and face of all things showing desolation. The cheife intent of bringing my lord thyther (as I doe judge) was to take councel with the marshall Biron,(11) who lay there sicke of the gowte, how to dispose of our army; where we remayned one whole daie, well intreated at the king's charge for our dyett, which was such and in such sorte as tasted no whyte of the warres.

Aug. 21. This day we spente in viewing the places of the batterie, and of the trenches made by the kinge, as well of the abbey as of the towne. The howses that are burned in the suburbes (as reporte goeth) are said to be 2,000, or more; but I, having particularly viewed them, can judge no lesse then 1,600; and many of them faire howses. The breach at which our English men tooke the abbey was not such as I and twoe more could come up in rancke.(12) The king determyned to raise [raze] the abbey cleane, leaste th'ennemye should possess him self of yt, and so trouble and moleste the towne.

Aug. 22. This eveninge, being the 22. of Auguste, the kinge with his nobles would neades leape, where our lord generall did overleape them all.

Aug. 23. The next daie, beinge the 23., my lord, after dynner, tooke his leave of the kinge, where all the gentlemen of accompt kiste his hand, unto whome he used theise speeches in effecte:—"I shall not be well tyll I have mett theise brave men agayne, which shalbe before a moneth be at an end. In the mean tyme, I hope you will not be idle." His intention being that we should enterprise in the mean whyle somethinge about Roan. Then my lord was conducted to the gate by the duke of Longueville and his brother, and by the king's master of horse, above iii. myles out of the towne; and there by monsieur d'O, governor of the Isle of Fraunce, and high threasurer of the kinge, to Compeign,

where we found the duke Monpensiere (13) going to the kinge with 500 horse. The king, the next daie of our departure, tooke his jorney to Ruytters.(14) The marshall Biron comes presently downe to joyne with our forces to enterprise somethinge in theise quarters of Normandie, from Compeign.

Aug. 24. The 24. we came to monsieur de Moy's, to a village called Moy, where the lord thereof gave us the best entertaynment he could, which could not be greate, the generall ruin of the country considered, and his castle being by the duke de Mayne (15) taken by force of cannon, beinge a verie faire and stronge castle.

Aug. 25. The 25. we marched through the meere ennemyes countrie, ryding all the daie armed, the weather moste extreame hott, our companyes being refreshed with 250 horses, conducted by monsieur de Moy; and the baron de Botteville broughte us to the castle of Meru that daie to bayte, which holdeth for the kinge, where we left our footemen, who of 600 are broughte to 240. And we marched unto Gisors that nighte, and by the waie there were dyscovered sondrie nombers of horse, to the nomber of 240; the which sir Roger Williams havinge spyed, who ledd the squadron of lawnces, sente word unto my lord to lead [the] bodye, that he should provyde to fyghte; and so he did, marching all th'afternoone in a readynes to fyghte, being in view of th'ennemye, who kept at th'one syde all the daie. Towards nighte, being within a league of Gisors, we tooke some intelligense of th'ennemy's lying in a castle of the duke Longueville, where we were to passe; but coming thither we found he had bene there all daie and was gonne away at nyghte. An abbesse, with some of her nonnes, came out (fearing that we would have lodged there), to beseech my lord that there should noe insolencies be doan to them or theirs; who answered them that it was not his determination there to reste; and if he had, there should have bene noe wronge doan unto them. There were some of them of noble houses, coy and fyne, and otherwise, I thincke, then Mary Magdalen in their mynds.

Aug. 26. Arryvinge at Gisors about 11 o'clock at nyghte, the iii. squadrons of lawnces and the rest of the gentlemen were lefte there, were commaunded to mownte on horsebacke, and to goe meete the footemen whom we had left at Meru; who marched all night, and were mett before daie by the said horsemen, and in soldierly manner entred the suburbes by ix. of the clocke, being the 26., where we remayned all that daie, with determination to rise at ij. a'clock at nighte, and to have fallen upon Gorney the next morninge verie early to have sene to have drawn some enterpryse upon it. But we had firste intelligence that there were 300 foote entred into yt, being before only kept by th'inhabitaunce and some fewe horses of the governor's. But aboute ij. a' clocke of the daie, there came intelligence that Villiers, governor of Roan and Newhaven, was entered that daie at ij. a'clock with 400 horse; the which intelligence gave good cause to consulte. In fine we sente 60 harquelatiers, iiii^{tie}. English and 20 French, verie well mownted, [who,] departing from Gisors about vi. a'clocke, wente even unto the walls of Gorney, where they tooke some in their beds and some other upon the waie, who assured that Villiers was there with 800 horses and 1,500 [foot]. And they, arryvyng againe about iiii. in the mornynge, and advertysing what they had found, and heard the trumpets sound for everie man to make him selfe readie to have taken the waie that we came; but when we were now readie to goe, my lord gave order that the foote should stay, and he torned hed and tooke the waie to Vernon, where he passed the river of Sceign, and lodged in a village about a league off, where he that lay best lay upon straw, and he that did eate beste did eate browne bread, and drancke water, unlesse he broughte somethinge els with him; but yet we found verie greate provision for our horses. The beste of th'inhabitants were drawn with their cartes and horses into the church and churchyard, being strongely fortefied. About 12 a'clock at nighte we did ryse, and came to Pont de Larch, 8 longe leagues,

Aug. 30. about 8 or ix. o'clock the next mornynge, being the 30.

of Auguste, but 3 leagues from Roan; where we toke certayne understanding of the governor there, (a verie brave man, called monsieur Rollet,) that Villiers was retorned to Roan that morninge, and that he had intention to fighte with us, and strengthened himselfe much that way, and although we had escaped his other ambuscado. Whereupon my lord consayled and resolved to send for our armye that daie, at Arches; which being dispatched, the governor would nedes invyte him to Loviers, (16) a verie faire towne lately surprysed by him from the Leaguers, which the kinge hath given him in govermente, being a verie worthie man and a greate undertaker, where we remayned all that daie, being the 30., in making of good chere and playing at tennys. Here my lord was advertysed by a gentleman of greate worth, named monsieur le Vertu, who had bene the cheife advertyser of Villiers his determynation, and had conducted us part of the waie betwixte Gisors and Vernon to avoid the ambushes that were laid for us, that in his retorne to Gisors he was in greate daunger to have bene taken by Villiers his companyes, who were, as he wryteth to my lord in his letter, 700 horse stronge at the leaste, and pursued us with a full trott; and before we reached to Vernon, there arryved at the topp of the hill, some myle and a halfe off, Villiers and his companyes, and, perceiving us, paste over the river of Seign, by the bridge of Vernon.

September the firste. We retorned upon Tewsdaie, being the first of September; we passed the tyme as the daie before.

Sept. 2. Upon Wednysday, the seconde daie of the said moneth, my lord was advertysed by one of the vi. messengers whom he sente upon Soundaie before, being harquebuz on horsebacke, that our army would march towards him as that daie. Whereupon my lord gave presente order for trumpetts to sound to horse, and so we retorned to Pont de Larch. About iii. o'clocke we mett him, his brother, and sir Roger Williams, who taryed all the whyle at Pont de Larch. At our arryvall there, upon a motion made to goe to an hill, being but a league from Pont de Larch, and a league and a halfe off Roan, only to vewe the towne

and the countrie aboute, my lord, with some 24 gentlemen with him, mownted upon his fresh horses, and the best ronners, (if nede had required,) and so wente to the hill, where we mighte verie playnely discerne the scytuation of it: where after we had stayed some while, we retorned.

Sept. 4. Upon Sondaie the 4. of September the lord generall sentenced a gentleman of his cornet to be dysarmed for stryking of a woman.

The same daie, after dynner, we receaved letters that our army was marched from Arches, (17) and would be within a myle of Roan, where the rendevous was appoynted. Whereupon, towards 3 of the clocke the trompett sounded to horse. But when all were readie, and advise taken, and a puyssante ennemye in our head, considering it was thoughte good by our generall to take more certain knowledge of the arryvall of our army at the rendevous; and thereupon staid for that nighte, sending out curriers (couriers) continually to take intelligence what monsieur Villiers did with all his companyes, and how he dysposed them: who advertised that the 4. of this presente there was munytion and soldiors put into Blendville, a castle of the marques of Allegre's.

Sept. 5. The fifte we mett with our army at Rea, leavinge all our baggage at Pont de Larch.

Sept. 6. The vj. our armye rose early, and our cornett of horse, with the cornett of the governor of Deape, went to Pont de Larch to fetch the baggage, which we lefte there the daie before fearing that it mighte have bene some impedyment to our march, the ennemye being into our head, and attending us all the waie on th'one syde, to espye convenyently to have foughte with us, as we suspected. Hereupon our aunsients were sente into a straighte, where it was doubted th'ennemy would have incowntred our horses upon their retorne from Pont de Larch. In the meane tyme all the army marched into a faire plaine a league from the place where the foote stood, to attend the lawnces and the bagage, to have seconded if it had bene nedefull. And in the meane

tyme my lord brake his faste under a tree, near unto a village where some part of th'ennemy were drawn in, as it appered after: for, havinge scarcely ended our soldierly repaste, there came four harquelatieres, who advertysed that they had discovered th'ennemye comynge out of a wood nere unto us; and, being sente backe to take some better understandinge of them, in going to the rysing of a lytel hill they were encowntred by seven harquelatiers of th'ennemy, who shrowded them selves behind a wyndmyll, and assalting ours slewe ii. of them, and hurt the third. Hereupon our battayle was commaunded to march up towards that lytle hill, by the favor wherof that few horses that were lefte came to the topp of the hill, and there we might see a squadron of th'ennemies horses some quarter of a myle from us. Whereupon there were [ordered] some, verie well horste with highe horses, to goe nere them, whom when they perceyved, put out some dozen horses to encownter them; and being well armed pressed ours home agayne, not without exchange of some pystoll bullett, spending so all the daie, until we had intelligence that our horses were within halfe a myle; and then there were sente 130 lawnces towards them to drawe them into fighte: but they, having understandinge of the approching of our horses, which of English and French weare 500, and they not determyned as yt seemed to fighte, (notwithstandinge they were stronge in horses, and had 2000 harquelatiers, as we were advertysed, as well by pesaunts taken as others of our espyalls,) retyred towards Roan, and we to a village called Callie, where we found greate store of horse bate, but noe manner of meate for men but what we brought with us, except syder. (18)

Oct. 3. The third daie of October we marched to Baly (Bulli?) my lord generall goeing to Newchastell, where the marshall was lodged, to conferre with him. (19) That daie, there were some stragglers cut of by certaine horsemen, that followed us aloofe for that purpose. That daie, at nighte, we had many that preste upon our sentnells half a dozen tymes: but we would

take noe allarme, but caused all to stand in armes. The same nighte late the marshall wrote unto the lord generall that he would have him to advaunce, that they mighte take councell together of some intelligences receyved.

Oct. 4. And so the 4. we marched unto Bellacomba,* and the lord generall, with his horses, wente to Seignecentes to the marshall; and, having conferred with him, came to his quarter, where he arryved 3 howres before his armye, and after havinge eaten a morsel toke freshe horses, and with the governor of the castle of Bellacomba, accompanyed only with 4 gentlemen, whereof my selfe was one, wente a coursing the hare: but, being about a league from the towne, in a plaine field nere unto a wood, there came 16 or 20 curasers on horsebacke out of the wood, as faste as with their spurres they could beate on their horses, with their pystolls in their hands, crying, *Qui vive, qui vive.* The rest of this adventure is mete to be told in a friend's earre. Whereupon my lord, being mownted upon a hobbye, was advysed to drawe a lytle asyde, and others to goe and see what they were: but drawing nere them found that they were of Jerpenville's companye, who toke us for ennemy, as we did them: but hereby I hope we shall learne to goe on hunting hereafter strongly, so long as we remayne in the ennemy's countrie.

Oct. 5. The fifthe we remayned at Bellacomba all the daie, whether the marshall came to my lord generall; and after consultation departed, eight of our men goinge for boot-hayling.† This daie we charged with 14 curasses of Roan; and ours, being 4 muskets and 4 pykes, induring their charge, slewe the capten of them, and in token thereof brought to their quarter his sword, hatt, and pystoll: but his bodie was recovered, and one of ours deadly wounded. The same daie returned from England mr. Fruncis Darcy, (20) whose newes of our retorne (21) more daunted our mynds then the sighte of all the leaguers arraynged in a squadron before us could have doan.

Oct. 6. The 6. we marched to Callie, from whence our generall

* Bellencombre.

† Hawling of booty, foraging.

went to the marshall's quarter, being twoe leagues off, and there toke councell what to doe the next daie. That nighte, about 12 a'clock, there was secrete warning given, that everie man should put himselfe in readines, load his caryages, and arm himselfe, and be readie to marche by twoe a' clocke in the morninge, which was accordingly donne.

Oct. 7. Our generall going to the marshall's quarter, attended with all the volontarye gentlemen, together with the cornett of horses, where he arryved ij. howres before daie, found the marshall readie, and accompanyed with greate nobylytie there adjoyninge; and our generall being verie glisteringe with a greate plume of feathers in his hatt, the marshall began verie merylie to saie unto him, "What, you young gallante, are you come hether to brave me with your whyte feathers? I thynke I have whyte feathers too;" and with that called for a hatt sett with a mighty plume, and a horseman's coate of tawnye velvett full of sylver lace, and with that putt on the hatt, and looked lyke an old cutting ruffen of Smythfield. His gallantrie and pleasantnes grewe out of a confidente hope he had of the good successe of a long entertayned intelligence which he had in Roan, and began then firste to be publyshed (although whispered amongst some of us before). The effect whereof was as followeth: Roan, when monsieur Rollett, governor of Pont de Larch (a good comptroller and brave executioner) tooke advantage of some unkyndnes past betwixt the governor of Roan and one of his collonells, who to revenge the former-recyted promysed to delyver a gate of the towne by meane of one of the captaynes of the towne who was at his devotion; for th'exoneration whereof, an howre before daie, toke his coach and marched to a village scituated in a wounderfull faire playne called Martinville, where the rendevous was, and he with my lord generall arryved firste; next came his old bands of Gascons, being harquebuz on foote, to the numbre of 2,000, as they say, but I thincke not so many upon accompte; next arryved the Swyzers, who are twoe

regiments, but I thincke not many above twoe thousand; next followed Hallard Mount Morancy, (22) who brought in five troupe of horses with curasses, which mighte be some 1,500 harqelatiers; then arryved our English troupes, sir Roger Williams' companye being joyned the daie before; and that day we were 2,500 bearing armes, and 140 horse, English: presently in comes Rollett with a greate companye of curasses, and seemed to be in a greate discontentation he had staid so longe, it being by this tyme 11 a' clocke. There was besides these the governor of Deape's curasses, the baron Bentyville Parisian, governor of Newchastell, with the marques de Allegre, (23) monsieur de Rames, and many other brave men. There the intention, practyse, and greate hopes were publyshed; and for our better securytie the marshall offered that 200 harquebuz should first enter the ports, being old Gascons led by monsieur Bellcouer their collonell; next followed our companye, and who should have the pointe it was longe disputed, but was decyded by the fortune of the dyce and of the collonells; the lord Audley (24) wan it, and for leading of the poynte sir John Wingefield (25) wan yt of sir Thomas Baskerville, (26) who with 300 men was the second, the French and my lord's ensigne to have seconded them. Yt was a world to see how men that were before dull with daunts, sicknesse, and discontentation, pulled up their harts, and grewe into a wounderfull hope of that which by the Frenche was so certainly promysed. Yt was a joy to see the pleasante countenances of men, and the promyses they made to themselves of wealth that daie or a brave ende. And so having made a shorte breakefaste we marched on, havinge 3 longe leagues unto Roan from that place; and, beinge arryved in the sighte of the towne, not above halfe a league offe in a wood there, there came a messenger from the marshall (who ledd the battayle of the Swizers that daie) unto our generall who was in the troupe that was to enter, directing and encouraginge that he should make hold,* for that there

* A halt, or stop.

was treason in their intelligence, which more amated us than the bullets of th'ennemye could have doan. And so restinge there a while, *a la morte*,* the marshall came upp, and gave us direction to marche unto a bourge called Direntoun,† being nerer unto Roan then Myle-end is to London, whether we came on such a sodaine, that we found many of our hostesses at home and many of our hosts; and I hold it was the gainefulleste lodging that we had since we came into Fraunce; there was wool and many other thinges more than we had cariage for, and in the morning greate store of wyne was found under the grounde, whereof the soldiors laded themselves and lett the reste ronne of their charytie.

Oct. 8. The viii. our lord generall tooke his horse verye earlye and wente to an hill nere the towne, and not farr from St. Catherine's castle, and I thincke bemonynge his fortune that he was revoked before he was master of the market-place; and then and there, upon a faire grene in the sighte of the towne, where there was three thousand soldiors besides the inhabytants, he commaunded all the gentlemen to lighte, and said he was verie sorie that noe oportunytie was offered him to have ledd them into a place where they mighte have gayned honor; but the fault was not his, neyther yet in them; for he had receaved a great goodwill in all, and thereof was determyned to give notes of honor to some, and there made 24 knights. (27) The same nighte before there came some 30 harquelatiers unto one of our barrocadoes, thinckinge to have taken our sentnell; which when they myst of, they sente a volley into the barrocado and retyred; but the matter was so well handled by captain Clifford, as we did not them the honor to take the allarme. After that all the armye was come upon a fayre plaine, his lordship toke his leave, attended by all his gentlemen and his owne cornett, wente to the marshall's quarter, and there taryinge some howre in consultation, tooke his leave, the marshall accompanying him more than a league, where, after his departure, we dyned under a wyndmyll, not after the fashion of

* Half-dead with disappointment. † Darnetal

the courte but of the kampe; and then taking horse we continued our way towards Deape, where, in our sighte, issued out of a wood some dozen harquelatiers, and charged some of our footmen and lackeies, and slewe ii., and hurte ii. or three more, and we pursewed them speadylie; but they did recover the wood, which was faire and thicke, and very daungerous to enter: and so, burying the men, we came to Deape about 10 a'clocke at nighte, and [the lord generall] staid scarce to eate, but embarked for England, leaving behind him a greate many mornynge, but hopinge for his retorne, or els God helpe the king's cause here!

Oct. 9. The captayne of our carbynes, who arryved here the ix. daie, told how he was charged by some harquebuz, and had both men and horses shott; amongst the which was my horse that I tooke at Gornay, being the governor's sonne's chiefe horse there, for which I having noe use, I lent him unto Oliver St. John, a brave man (28); and his servante, going out of the waie, fell uppon this adventure. This daie mr. Cary came out of England, (29) who broughte moste comfortable newes; but our generall was goon before. This daie we made good chere, in recompence of many a small meale.

Oct. 10. The 10. of October our armye arryved at Arches, where our captens broughte word of a sally that they of Roan made, with above 200 horses, and came up to the topp of an hill to the rer-guard, and defyed eyther man to man, or ii. to ii., or greater nombers, to stryke a blow with sword and pystoll. Whereunto it was aunswered that the horsemen were gonne, but if they listed to come and see how they did, they should be welcome. The Frenchmen made aunswer that they were not come to be put to schoole. In the meane tyme of theise speches, our captens that had the rer-gard drewe downe certayne muskatiers, and aymed so nere, that those which had these speeches (and were not past 3 or 4, the reste making a stand behind,) retyred more then apace. Our soldiors reporte that theise men were verie brave in armor, feathers, and scarfes.

Oct. 11, 12. The 11. and 12. hapened noething worthie the noates, but that we made good cheare, and yt coste our crownes.

Oct. 13. The 13. we had a muster, (30) where we mustred above 2,400 men in the field, besides sicke men, which are verie many, and but fewe dead.

Oct. 14, 15, *and* 16. The 14., 15., and 16. we wente abroade coursing in the fields; and that daie there came the marques de Allegre, with letters from the marshall Biron, desiring that 500 of ours mighte come to Caudebecke for their better helpe and assystaunce; which was denyed them by sir Thomas Laighton, (31) to their greate dislyke.

Oct. 17. The 17. our generall retorned againe from England, contrarie to the generall expectation of the moste. (32) That verie daie he tooke counsell and resolved to make dyspatch unto the kinge and the marshall, of the successe of his jorney into England, in the which he had made a speedie and more then ordynarie poste; and what is it he doth not with gallauntrie and vigyllauncie? The next mornynge he dyspatched sir Roger Williams to the kinge, who promysed to him self a goode successe of his jorney, or els to become of an earneste devotyoner a brave mutyner. This doan, he made reformation of thinges amysse in the kampe.

Oct. 18. The 18. we had certain intelligence of the rendring upp of Caudebecke by composition, which was,—all the men of warr to depart to Roan, with a convoy for their securytie; the dromes beatinge, the ensignes flyinge, the matches lighted, the horsemen with their pystolls in their hands.

Oct. 19, 20. The 19. and 20. we passed in making good cheare, coursing in the fields, ryding of horses, playing at ballone, and the lyke.

Oct. 21. The 21. he heald a marshall corte, where many greifes were heard and determyned; some condemned to dye for goinge without passporte for England, and some for other offences. This daie the marshall wrote a letter to sir Thomas Laighton, a lytle pickante, wherein he marveyled that our men did not accomplish

his demaund and come to Caudebecke, and matter of lyke nature verie Frenchely. The same daie at nighte th'ennemye lay nere our campe, and had slaine a soldior of ours, that was sente to the savegarde of an house; and our generall with 20 horses going over the field for Arques towards Deape, and passing by the very end of the village, where th'ennemye lay in ambushment, durst not charge us (as it was confessed), they being 24 curasses. The same nighte about ix. a' clock, we had a verie hott allarme given us by the castle, by the shoottinge off of ij. peeces of artyllerie, and ringing of the allarme-bell, which was by our soldiors verie well aunswered; and if you had seene it, you would have thoughte there had bene noe faulte of men, for the verie sicke men that had not bene for x. daies out of the strawe, came to aunswer the allarme. This daie arryved at Deape monsieur d'O, with 50,000 crownes from Caen by sea.

Oct. 22. The 22. daie we passed with playinge at tennys in the forenoone, and at playinge at ballon in th'afternoone with the lieuetenant-gouvernor of Deape, and the victorie fell on our syde.

Oct. 23. On Satterdaie, retorned sir Harry Danvers (33) from sir Roger Williams, who broughte us certaine intelligence of the king's marchinge hetherwarde with all speede.

Oct. 24. The 24. we were invyted to monsieur d'O, who intreated us for dayntye chere lyke Lucullus; for we were so farr from want of other meaner thinges, that we did eate muske and amber in tartes. (34)

Oct. 25. The 25. our generall broughte him to see our armye, which was drawne out into the fields, where he showed him 2,000 and upward brave men by the head, beside iii[c]. (300) sicke in the strawe. This daie beginneth the paie of the kinge; but much more contented would we be in the paie of our blessed quene! All manner of provision necessarie for the siege of Roan are in handling here. A very displeasing newes is arryved here, especyally ours, who were at the beholdinge; the ladie Blendville, a gracefull gentilwoman, and her faire daughter, were taken prisoners

this daie commynge from their castle to this towne; which is the more to be lamented, for that she is a ladie that possessed the religion.

Oct. 26. The 26. daie, the manner of the paymente of the king unto our soldiors was agreed upon, and a 40,000 delyvered to our threasorer to be dystributed according to our former paie from her majestie; the same daie, monsieur d'O assured my lord, that the king would be at Roan within viii. daies with his army, and that daie he had receyved letters from him. That daie his lordship wente to the marshall, who was retyred from Holflewe to come towards Roan. And my lord, accompanyed with some viii. gentlemen of his owne followers, as also with monsieur d'O, and his trayne, wente to Anglicavilla, where he was lodged, and there that nighte supped with the marshall, and counsailled and conferred of many things; in th'end of supper the chapplaine said grace, and after praying to the Virgin Marye, and the words thereupon uttered to the marshall, I deferr to tell but in my freind's eare.

Oct. 27. The 27. our armye did ryse, and mett my lord retornynge from thence, and lodged that nighte at a village called Gonville. The same daie all our sicke men weare imbarqued from hence for England, which were some 400 at the leaste.

Oct. 28. The 28. we marched towards Roan, and the departements of our lodginge being not to our likinge, we lodged in certayne other villages, where we were wounderfullie well accommodated. That night arryved with us sir Roger Williams from the kinge, who broughte letters to our generall, of the kyng's full determynation to besiege Roan with mighte and mayne, and that he marched with all expedition hetherwards. That nighte my lord generall dyspatched him for England, and we did ryse in a moste raynie mornynge from that good quarter, and came unto a village called Ophin, where we weare verie well quartered, but noe creature to bid us welcome; noe, not so much as a peasaunte to be found through all the countrie we marched; and hardly one sheepe or swyne. That evening, after we were sett, my lord wente to Cally, where the marshall was lodged, our army having bene twice lodged

in that village before; and there it was resolved that we should ryse that nighte at xii. a' clocke, and march to Roan, being but vi. myles from our quarter, where we should have the pointe and be firste lodged, which was done accordingly, and came to a place of rendevous, where we staid for the rest above 2 howres, which was a fowle breache of promyse, and their harme, as it appeered the same daie.

Oct. 29. About halfe an howre before daie came Hallard Mount Morancy, and a lytle after the marshall, where we having the pointe came firste unto our lodginge to our quarter, called Mount de Mallades, (35) betwixte 8 and 9 a' clocke in the morninge, where firste having sente certaine carbynes into the towne to dyscover, my lord accompanyed with the gentlemen followed with certaine harquebuz and even hard by us all our pykes, and so made a stand in the middeste of the village, and the gentlemen wente to the side of the hill hard by the walls of Roan, the village itselfe not being so farr from the gates of Roan as it is betwixt Savoy and the walls of London: from thence we mighte discerne a greate skyrmysh betwixt those of the towne and marshall Biron his companies, when those of the towne mayntеyned the skyrmysh verie bravely, and kepte a house and the hill nere unto marshall Biron his lodginge tyll it was five a' clocke at nighte, there yssued out of the towne betwixte 200 and 300, and led themselves in a place of advantage, nere to them that did skyrmysh, and then the marshall brought certaine horse of his, but noe blow given. Hallard Mount Morancyes quarter, being our next neighbor, was so sore assaulted that he was faine to quyte some parte of his quarter where he had laid his soldiors, whom th'ennemye so pursewed that they burnte halfe his quarter, his troupes looking on, and had so doan with the rest if my lord generall had not commaunded certaine harquebuz to goe and drawe them into a skirmysh dyverting from him, offering to cutt betweene them and the towne, which was so well performed, that our horses offering to charge made them whele about, and certaine pykes led by sir John Wingefield made them to give ground. There were ii.

knights, one capten, besides others, hurte, and capten Barton's lieuetenant slaine. There were ii. of their captens slain by us, the bodie of one whereof we recovered, being verie well apparelled. The said lieuetenant toke his scarfe, who afterward was slaine. Hallard Mount Morancie loste iii. captens, but they of the towne bragg that they made his men ronne, both horse and foote; but we that are their friends will speake the beste, for that they gave greate honor unto us for the recoverie of their lodginge. We had soundrie horses hurte, whereof mr. St. John had one and captain Yaxlye an other; my lord his horse was shott dead under him; and this is as much as I can remember of the daie, although I can assure you that I sawe many more thinges worthie the memorie, which at more leysure I may bethincke to wryte, but here is all I can assure you. Yt was a moste pleasing daie to see horses and foote together by the eares on both sydes; and so towards the eveninge we retyred to our lodging, which we possessed all that nighte in quyett without any enterprise againste us.

Nov. 2. This daie, being the second of November, because they would not come see what we did, one captain Welch, a verie resolute and tall man, wente downe to a *corrs de gard*, which they hould nere the gate of the towne, and beinge descryed by a sentnell that made shott at him and myst him, he made a shott at the other and slewe him. In th'afternoone my lord wente to the marshall's quarter and consulted. This evening there are pickaxes and spades broughte us to intrenche our selves, which we are doinge. Sir Francis Allen (36) and sir Mathewe Morgan are in noe daunger of life by their hurts; my lord generall and we here are well, and eate and drincke that we can gett, and lye uppon the strawe, and for many of us never better in our healthes in all our lives, and yet many tymes lesse contented; no more tyll the nexte. There are a gally and a gallias lying uppon the river and makes many shott, but hath yet (God be thanked!) doan small harme.

Nov. 3. The thirde of November th'ennemye sent out his drome, desiring of my lord the bodie of the capten that was slaine

the daie of our commynge, which was yealded unto, and was taken out of the ground, and laid in a place where they might fetche him. They would have commen with some captens to have fetched the bodye, which was denyed them, and so in th'end one of our droms delyvered the bodye unto vi. of the soldiors that came for it without armes. But yet in the meane while of this favor and honnourable cortosie they made certaine shott of artyllerie out of the towne upon us, and slewe an horse with a falcon shott under one mr. Constable and brused his thigh verie sore; and wonderfullie they came out that afternoone in greate nombres, and we expected some greate consequente; but after the chaunging of certaine harqebuz with our neighbor quarter of Hallard Mount Morancye, they retyred, having descerned (as it should seeme) that we were drawne out to second our freinds and came betwixte them and the towne. This daie the marshall came to our quarter, and much praysed th'intrenchments that were in hand for the defence of our lodgings, as also th'advantage of our barrocado to be advaunced nerer the towne then we made the firste daie by 220 score. He that is idle there, and would gett an honorable heate, mighte have it here, eyther with workinge for our defence, or fighting once a daie at the leaste, for they offer us such occasion.

Nov. 4. The 4. our generall went to the marshall's quarter, where after some consultacion and assurance of the king's being here uppon Satterdaie or Soundaie next, he went accompanyed with our generall and many others to the quarter of monsieur Flavencourte, where, presently upon our arryvall there, there yssued both horse and foote out of the castle of St. Katherin's, and skyrmyshed verie jollylye; but noe greate accydente proceeded of it, savinge that the marshall with monsieur d'O and others standinge upon an advantage of ground to view the castle, a bullett of artyllerie out of the castle lighted within vi. yards of him. This nighte there sallied forth 400 soldiors out of the castle [on] Flavencorte one of the marshalls of the kampe's quarter, burnte it over his head, slewe as many as stood the defence, toke

his baggage, his horses, and mules; but at last being backed with certaine Gascons and a regiment of the French that were lodged behind him, they were inforced to retyre in this order: there was lefte on the ground dead 26, eight were taken prisoners, whereof weare twoe English and one Spanysh. There aryved during our aboad there 500 pyoners from Evorax (Evreux) in base Normandie, with many necessaries for pioneers.

Nov. 5. The fifthe there yssued of th'ennemyes horse on our syde, and one brave fellowe all in crymson velvett, and would nedes call one of ours to the sword on horsebacke, which he bravely aunswered, and wounded him in twoe places, and had broughte him prisoner, if he had not been rescued by his fellowes. This was doan while our generall was at the marshall's quarter. This daie our generall invyted the iii. collonells of the Swizers, where there was drynking to the healths of others tyll some of them were sicke and a-sleape. There dyned also with him monsieur de Grinioun and Hallard Mounte Morancie, twoe greate men, and toke their drincke as well as the reste, and did as well appere uppon them. After dynner we wente abroad, and come nere to a gate of the towne where the governor of Deape is quartered, where walking upon an hill ymmynente to the towne, it fortuned that Villiers the governor (37) was with some xx. horse, and seing us he drewe out certaine shott, and so began to come up the hill; but being known, and ryding uppon one of the horses that mr. Germyn's man roade away withall into Roan, our generall called him unto him, and said he would speake with him at a blowe with a sword or pystoll, but he replyed with noe aunswere but the shott of 4 or 5 harqebuz.

Nov. 6. The vi. there passed nothing of greate memorie more then that they planted gabbions upon their bullwarks for their artyllerye overagainst our quarter, and that they sent a drome uppon a small matter into our quarter, who being blyndfold brought in, he was made so droncke by the rest of ours of his profession, that he neded not to be blyndfold when he wente out, for he knewe not the waie but as one of ours conducted him nere

to the gate. They of the towne labour in their fortifications wounderfully: we may see 400 or 500 working upon a ravelinge, or a cavillier or such lyke fortifycation that they make. They make greate shewes and countenaunces of resolution: but it is thoughte here that whensoever they shall heare our cannon speake they will rainge themselves to reason.

Nov. 7. The 7. our generall invyted soundrie collonells French to dynner with him. The same daie our horsemen having made very good proffyte upon the countrie, broughte us in some 60 kyne, and of muttons and swyne proportyonally. This daie there comes a soldior of the governor of Deape, sente from his master to my lord generall, being this verie daie redeemed out of pryson, from Roan, who sayth that they within had a greate desyre to force our quarter, and have had many conferences thereupon, but yet can resolve of nothing to their lykinge. This daie there was an hott skyrmysh, both of horse and foote, nere to the castle of St. Katherin's, where the people of the towne stoode uppon the bullwarks of the towne and beheld it as though it had bene a tryumphe of sporte. There were slaine some on both sydes. In the towne they wante bread, although they have corne ynnough, for the river that drove their milles is turned from them. The same daie at nighte there arryved from Newhaven to Roan twoe peeces of culveringe, two of sacre, and 9 of robenets.

Nov. 8. The viii. daie my lord, very early in the morninge, went to the marshall's quarter and passed not farr from the walls, a much more nere waie than he was wounte, for it was early. He had but vii. horse, whereof myself was one, and after dyspatch of his buysynes with the marshall, he entred into some of his usuall discorses of *Than. Tharas* with our generall, and said that he hoped that theise same 2000 greate Englishmen that they expecte, will at the leaste bringe with them 200 of the faire maids of England, of the which if he speake 3 words one of them is of that sex; so devotyonated remembrer is he of that that is paste, as of that which is not in his power to doe, but only in speche. In our retorne we found soundrie horse of

th'ennemye yssued out, which desyred us to hold our usuall waie, or paie deerly for our passage. This daie my lord was invyted to dynner to Hallard Mounte Morancyes quarter, and by our chere you would have judged there had bene noe warrs within 200 myles.

Nov. 9. The 9. the marshall came to our quarter, where he mighte see a wounderfull goodly suburbes all on fyre on th'other syde of the water, which they forbare the doinge of tyll this daie, upon a certaine intelligence of the duke of Monpence * and the counte Swessons † (38) approches, who were quartered there; and they have forborne to burne it tyll now, in respect of 8000 crownes that was offred by the inhabitants to save it from fyre. There are a greate nomber of fayre buyldings in it, and bigger (in my concepte) then all Westminster. If they had come according to promyse the daie of our arryvall, their lodgings had been safe, which now they are constrayned to make under a tree, or goe farther off. This daie there being a trompett of one Jerpenville's sente into the towne by his lordship, Villiers the governor wyshed him to signyfie unto our generall, that whereas he had sente unto chevallier Pyccard to breake a pyke with him, he would the next morrow bring him into the field, eyther armed or in his doublet, to aunswere his challenge; and if he lysted he would bring xvi. gentlemen more againste xvi. of his (39) Whereunto his lordship aunswered in wrytinge, that presently upon his commyng into Fraunce he was occasioned to send his drome thyther, understanding of chevallier Pickard his being in towne, that he should tell him that he was sorie, for old acquayntaunce, that he should persyste in so bad an action, and againste so brave a kinge: but since it were so he would be glad to find him in the head of his troupe with a pyke; and that he is to knowe that he is a generall of an armye from an absolute prince, in which there are a nombre of chevaliers, Pickard's equalls at the leaste, besydes; that if he or any other had desire to find him, that all those of his

* Montpensier. † Soissons.

could justyfie, that the firste daie of his syttinge downe here he was twice in the head of his troupe, and offred to charge, and they refused and wheeled about: but, for that he himselfe is in some respecte of his government, he challenged him, he would make it good upon him eyther armed or in his doublett, that the king's cause was more juste and honest then that he upheld of the league; that he himselfe was a better man than he, and his mistress fayrer than his. And if he would have helpe and parley, he would bringe xx. of lyke quallytie to chevalier Pickard, or 60, that the meaneste of them should be a capten in cheiffe. This daie our marshall and our lord generall, with soundrie with them, wente to vieue the towne, at whom they made 4 shott of artyllerie from the towne, which eyther wente cleane over our heads, or els lighted shorte of us; which sheweth noe greate skill in their cannonyers.

Nov. 10. The x. capten Welsh, a verie tall man, being walking nere the towne, was shott by a sentenyll of theirs with a chaine bullett, and his arme broken; the sentnyll that shott him being in a redd coate of one of our soldiors, which was the cause that he came with such convenyencye to shoote him, mystaking him to be one of ours. A servante of sir Conyers Clyfford charged the sentnyll with his sword on foote, who was rescued by a horseman in the meane tyme. The sentnyll charged againe, and shott him into the head, and it is to be feared that we shall lose them both.

Nov. 11. The xi. there was a French horseman slaine by twoe of th'ennemye as he passed betwixt our quarter and the governor's of Deape, and for his body there grewe a greate skyrmysh, but they of the towne caryed it awaie. In our quarter there was a skirmysh, and one of their gallants fell in our sighte, and one of ours shott with a muskett. This daie my lord receaved aunswere of his letter from Villiers; that in saying the cause of the king was a juster cause then that of the leaguers, and that he was a better man then he, he did lye; and would fighte thereupon, when the duke de Mayne should come. Whereunto my lord aunswered in wryting by his trompett this daie, that his lye was very fryvo-

lous, and did no waie concern him, considering it was not given him upon a good ground; yet, eftesoones, he did call him to the mayntenaunce of that he had denyed, and if he did not aunswere now, that he had noe excuse, then shame and infamye must lighte uppon him, which is generally spoken of him by all the French themselves. The governor hath sent this daie a challenge to any foote capten of ours, man to man, with shott and with rapyer, which was accepted, and capten Acton desirous of that combate, and his name sente to the governor to accepte his challenge; but in th'end they made excuses herein, as they doe in all other thinges, with sleights and cunnyngs, and ronne when they come at blows; whereof examples are many.

Nov. 12. The xii. capten Welsh and sir Conyers Clyfford's man dyed both of their hurts. This daie, our generall receyved a letter from the kinge, of great love, and that he would be here as the next mornynge. This former nighte, we receyved 80 pyoneers from the marshall Bironne, to drawe the trench downe to the hill somewhat nerer the towne then our lodgings, out of the which our shott endaunger all those that eyther yssue out or walke upon the walls. This day there was a greate skyrmysh on our syde, but not dyrectly upon us; but rather upon Hallard de Mounte Morancye, where the shott of the towne did much better (batter) his; but with the helpe of our musketts, that plaid out of our trenches upon them, the skyrmish being in a playne under us, we quickly made them abandon the place, without their ever adventuring to come and see what we had doan, which they find by experience doth much annoy them. They contynewe to burne all without the towne; and this daie have burnt a village just betwixt the towne and the castle of St. Katherine's, which they have protected to this daie. The contynewall burnynge of houses are verie greate and pytyfull to behold: how much bound are our people to God, that know not these myseries!

Nov. 13. The 13. we planted a culveringe by the breake of daie, and shott a ravelinge which they have begonne and mightily

worke upon daie and nighte; but so ill was our cannonier, as with halfe a dozen shott we did scarce make them afraid, and therefore chaunged copye, and dyrected the bullett into the towne, where we mighte heare such ratling of houses, and see it fly through one house and grace upon the other, as were yt not for charytie it were pleasure to behold. After breakfaste, my lord accompanyed with soundry gentlemen, French, of greate marke, wente to the marshall's quarter, where accompanied with him my lord with all his in their best mountiers * and attyres, wente to meete the kinge, where we all dysmounted to kysse his hand, and he alighted to embrace the marshall and my lord, and being brought unto his quarter, they wente to cowncell, where they have resolved upon the course† to brydle this headstronge jade. In our retorne home, very nere to the towne, they shott twoe peeces of artyllerie at once, at our rysing of an hill, and escaped us very narrowly, and I, for my parte, never myssed so nere a daunger; for I mighte sencesyblye feele the wynd of the bullets in my face, as it passed by me. That daunger escaped, we stood and viewed a skyrmysh betwixte the garrison of the castle of St. Katherin's and certaine soldiors of Bellgarde's regymente, where, being above 200 soldiors on eyther syde, and skyrmyshing more then an howre in our sighte, we could not dyscerne any man slaine, and few or none hurte. The xiii., in the morninge, it pleased my lord to send to me and to sir John Wotton only, to attend him to the king's quarter, thincking to have come to his sermon there; but we found him going to viewe the castle of St. Katherin's, and upon his retorne he called for dynner, where we staid tyll he had dyned, my lord standing by him all the while covered, talking and dyscorsinge of many matters, and all the reste standing bare: his dyet is of many meates, and a snatche of every one; dryncketh good wine and lytle water. All the while he talked to one, or one to him in his eare. Before he had full dyned, my lord toke his

* Or mountures, i. e. horses and furniture.

† *MS.* cause.

leave, the king telling him he would be at his quarter within an howre; the which he performed, and passed throughout all our quarters, where all our people, to the uttermoste we mighte make, weare in armes, which he much praysed, though I knowe we wanted manye and manye a brave man that we had at our firste commynge.

Nov. 14. This daie, in the afternoone, yt was a verie great myste; and the king, takinge the advantage of it, would goe the nerest way to his quarter under the towne walls, betwixte the towne walls and the hills, in a vallye; and my lord having commaunded all his attendance here, and captens to mownt on horsebacke, armed and toke the hand of the king to cover betwixte him and the towne, the which baron Biron, in countenance of cortesie, to gard him, sente downe 200 horse to goe betwixte him and his and the walls; who, when he perceaved their intente, he bended even the very counterschape, sending their leader word, that if they would goe nerer than he and his, he would make them goe into the dytche, for he would goe upon the counterscape.

Nov. 15. The 15. my lord, only accompanyed with two gentlemen, wente to the king's quarter, where after dynner th'ennemye sallyed out on every syde, and were verie braggante, and upon the castle syde made skyrmysh with our French there. The king, my lord, and his grand esquire, lay uppon an immynente place all on a cloake, and beheld it. Upon our quarter they sallyed out upon our neighbor Mounte Morancy's men, who indevored to take a church (a place of some importance) nere unto the verie gate, and possessed themselves of it. Whereupon they made their sally, and inforced their horse and foote to abandon the place with more then a lytle haste. We in their favor plaid upon th'ennemye from our trenches, and what by the shooting of one of theirs of good shewe by one of our muskatiers, whose bodie we were willing to recover, as also to amend some slacknes of one of our horsemen that did not of the best (as some toke it), but by some excused that his horse was shott, which in troth he lefte there,

together with some recreante dealinge of some of Hallard's horsemen to their reproche, and to the glorie of th'ennemye, capten Acton and capten Gowre,* with some others, carne downe to the very gates and beate them in. They were seconded by sir Thomas Baskerville and sir Robert Carye and others, and having put them in, retorned even at the shutting of the nighte. Capten Powre(40) was shott with a chayne bullet, which fell so flatt upon his breste upon a bombaste† doublett that it entred not, but brused him much. It is thoughte that if yt had bene with a single doublet he had bene wownded to the death. Although I saie it, our forwardnes doth make the French wounder to see ours of the beste sorte eyther well mounted or placed in the head of the troupes of pykes, to aunswere all alarme, and to make the proudest ronne when no‡ offer to chardge them.

Nov. 16. The 16. there hath bene a spech (ever since the king came) of his going to Deape, which is to hasten all provisions and necessaries for his busynes here; but some of his domestiques, out of a French lyberty to speake every thynge, say that his jorney is to meete a saincte, (for he oweth devotyon to more than *Gabryell* only,) which he hath bene devote unto longe, whose bodie is transported from Caen thither, because his devotion and vowes may be performed with more ease: but how, or whatsoever, you or I will speake the best of our betters. My lord this daie after breakfaste wente to the king's quarter, where he passed the time tyll nighte; and about one a'clocke the serjante-major and others being buysie in planting a peece upon a broken house, where th'ennemye kept a *corte de gard*, hard without the gates, of 2,500 men, we might dyscerne on a sodaine the drawe-bridge fall, and a cornet of 140 horse, and that brave ones, all in a cluster, came on as fast as they could, and holding that pace, they recovered an hill towards the king's quarter, nere to the which a regiment of Swizers are lodged and kepte their *corte de gard* even upon the hill, where they found marshall Biron and the baron his sonne, and many

* Power? † Stuffed: from bombyce, cotton. ‡ Any?

others, who happyly were come thither to take vieue of that parte of the towne; and spying them, eyther upon some spyall had upon them, or by happ, charged them, so much, and so hott, and so home, that their best stande was a fayre retreate as fast as their horses could carry them, as my lord and others have reported, who spake with them in his retorne from the kinge: but as it should seeme, some of th'ennemye, more forward then advised, passed so farr amongst others, and not seconded by his fellows, that one remayneth our prisoner (as yt is said a gentleman well armed and well mounted). Upon this we from our quarter mighte behold the most of this that passed; we might see many of their horse drove downe, and th'ennemye withdrawe within the covert of the towne; and there we mighte behold many a horse well spurred, and many a sword jollyly glystering in the sunn on both sydes: but all put up without any effusion of blood, one blowe stryken, or one pystoll shott; which is not the manner of our quarter, for we never goe to it but eyther horse or man remaynes behind, and sometimes both. This evenynge in the skirmyshe we had hurte through the thigh a tall Irish soldior, who did excellent well, but yet his valure to be praised more than his discretion. There was also a French man's horse slaine, and himselfe narrowly escaped; and by the favor of ours which ran out of the trenche to rescue him: but th'ennemye had the spoile of his horse, for that is our custome on both sydes, to leave man and horse naked, as soone as ever they fall, which in reason should make a man looke to himselfe, specyally this cold weather, for it would grieve a man to be torned naked in the rygor of the weather. This daie sir Edmund Yorke (41) hath bene upon the ryver to vieue the convenientest place, as well to stopp th'ennemyes passage, as to be accommodated for all necessaries out of base Normandye, and to passe and repasse th'armye on that syde (now commaunded by count Soesson (Soissons) who is already lodged there) hither unto this syde, if nede requyre, where sir Edmund Yorke hath resolved

upon a place an English mile distaunte from the towne, and where there are villages on both sydes, and an island in the mydest of the ryver, in all the which there shalbe forts made and peeces of artyllerye planted, and a bridge of boats. This daie during the skyrmyshe there stale out of the towne, at the gate next unto us, a younge man, inhabitante of Roan (as he saith), who with twoe youthes of his kindrede have quytted the towne, fearing the extremyty it may growe unto. I talked with him longe, and that that I gathered (but a man must suspend of sodaine judgement of their speeches) was that Villiers was not beloved of the commynaltie, and his party consisteth of some private factyonaries; that the garrison is not above 1800 men, horse and foote; that the cyrcuyts to defend are verie great and lardge; that th'inhabitants for the moste parte would be glad to be the king's subjects, with the safety of their lives and goods; of the greate severitie used by Villiers unto those suspected to be regalists; that the clergie is verie violente against the kinge, notoriously in their proceedings and prechings; and in their doings many of them beare armes, not only in defence of the towne, but often-tymes in their sallyes; that on the daie of our sytting-downe, they had 50 men hurte and slaine by us, where he amongste others was in the gard that daie. Much more he speaketh, but theise to my remembraunce are the chiefeste points. This nighte, being a verie greate wynd, capten Swan's quarter was burnte to the ground, being the nexte howse to my lord's lodgings, whether with negligence or mishap I cannot tell.

Nov. 17. The 17. my lord wente early to the kinges quarter, being only accompanyed with 4 of us, for such a body hath he made of yron, supporting travaile and passioned in all extremyties, that the following of him did tyre our bodies, that are made of flesh and boane; wherefore with his consente we made an agrement long since within our selves, that we should everie daie vj. of us attend him whether soever he went; and this daie yt

lighted upon sir Robert Carye, sir Philipe Butler, (42) sir William Brookes, sir Richard Acton, sir William Sackfield, (43) and my selfe; and comyng almoste to the king's quarter, nere St. Katherin's castle, to drawe th'ennemye into some fighte, and to lay an ambuscado for them; and we followed him so nere, that we found him at collonell Bois his lodginge, all untruste, and what he had bene doing God knoweth. But he made him ready before us, and there brake his faste, where he eate soundly on a peece of powdred beefe, and all his nobles standing about him all armed saving their kaskes, 3 or 4 playing at prymero hard by him while he eate. By this tyme horses and armour were come, and 30 gentlemen of his, led by baron Biron, and everie man on foote leading their horses in their handes, convayed himselfe under the coverte and hedges and trees in a lytle vally near to the castle. The king, my lord generall, and certaine scatering harquebuz of ours drawing them within unto a skyrmysh, where they freshly fell out, both horse and foote, in good nombers, the skyrmysh grewe greate, and th'ennemye drawn on even almoste into the very place where we lay. Whereupon the king came unto us, and bad every man be in a-readynes, the which before he wente he sawe; and we all with our caskes downe, and eyther sword or pystolls drawn, longing to have heard the word of fighte given, presently retorned the king againe unto us, and caused us to advaunce a lytle farther towards the topp of the hill: but how unfortunately it hapened I know not, or whether the king's often commynge and retorne unto us, th'ennemye presently retyred, and could not that daie be gotten out any more by noe degree. We English hoped to have doan some feate worthie the honor due by us unto that solempne daie, the 17. of November.* But I hope to God we shall have some good occasion offred ere it be longe, although not upon the 17. daie, yet for the honor of her that hath made us a daie memorable unto the ages to come; and thus we

* The anniversary of the queen's accession to the throne.

retyred to the king's quarter, the castle saluting us with halfe a dozen of cannon bullets. My lord dyned that daie with the grand esquire: but it might have bene a supper, for it was almoste 4 a'clocke; and after a counsaile held by the king and his greate ones we came home.

Nov. 18. The 18. my lord eftesoones wente to the marshall's quarter to the king, and spente there the whole daie in counsaile and conference, and staid there all nighte, and sente hether for as many gentlemen as were not afraid of the cold, to come thither armed for an enterprise to be had upon the castle of Saint Katherine's, and such wytty and strong passages he hath to drawe on (if any such we have) as should be slacke in endevor. This evening, in the verie shutting of the nighte, there was an ambuscado of th'ennemye of horse and foote lay upon the nerest waie betwixt the king's quarter and ours, hard under the walls, into which unadvisedly fell certaine of Mount Morancyes horse, when there passed the beste fighte that I sawe betwixt them since our arryvall, for there were blowes both with the sword and pystoll, blood on both sydes, horses slayne, and one of our French taken prisoner, whose ransome is worth 4,000.

Nov. 19. The 19. about xii. a clocke, we toke horse and aryved about the castle of St. Katherine's, where the king hath made approches unto the castle, and buylt a forte; and for that it could not be made in one nighte, the king's nobylytie of what degree soever, and some 25 princypall gentlemen that were with my lord, all armed with pykes, came thither to gard against any sally that should be made out of the towne and castle, which we expected to be in mightie aboundance; about an howre after daie, the king came in person, and chered the pioneers to worke, and the reste to a resolute defence. At the verie breaking of the daie they shott 4 cannon shott at our workes, and finding it not prevayle they ceased. All we stood in gard nere to the new raysed forte, to have withstood any attempte that should have been offred, which we contynually expected. Yt seemed the king was verie desirous we mighte have had some sporte, and particularly asked me (unto

whom heretofore he hath doan favor of lyke nature), whether they would sally or noe; whereunto I aunswered, that if they weare honest men they should, but if they were Englishmen they would; whereunto he replyed, "By my faith, I believe it." When he perceived they sallyed not, he sente to drawe them out to skyrmysh; which was doan by ten of our muskatiers, which, under the covert of an old trenche, wente within 4 score of the counterscape, where they kept a gard, and, as all they saie, slewe twoe. To second them, there were xii. of the pryncypallest of us, that, trailing our pykes, seconded them to brave the castle; there salyed out 22, without resolution to doe any good or greate thinge. Th'artyllerye plaid all daie with verie small harme; but one piece escaped the king verie nere, and so the daie passed with dyvers accydents, and cold and hunger to boote, and contynewed till four a'clocke, when we [were] relieved by other gard of the king's best Gascons, we having bene all daie armed, and some with the high proofe; and this daies work thus ended with the death of two pryncypall gentlemen of the French, through the thighes; and thus the castle of St. Katherine's is cyrcomvented. God send the undertaking a good end! The forte is within lesse then xii. score of the castle. And so, cold, weary, and hungry, came home, with newes of my lord's jorney to England to-morowe mornynge.

Nov. 20. The 20. in the mornynge, my lord rose very early and went to the king's quarter, having first dyspatched and ordred many thinges for th'armye, and so accompanyed with my lord ambassador, (44) and many others, he alighted upon a fayre grene, and so did many others, not knowing his intente; and there he knighted sir Henry Killigrewe; (45) and commyng to the king's quarter, after the dispatch of his buysynes there, he toke his jorney (46) towards Deape, where we attended him for a while, and having taken our leaves, we mornefully retorned, and determyned to have gonne to Blendville, where we heard the cannon play, but before our commynge it was yealded.

Nov. 21. The xxi. there was a greate skyrmysh at the castle,

whether that daie the kinge broughte his artyllerie and began to plante some of them, being a greate myste, and they within sallyed out very many, and pressed the baron Biron his men very hardly, who that daie had the gard; and as some reporte, who saie they speake not the worste, and yet affirm that baron Biron his men the Gascons retyred more then apace. Those that salyed were led by a canon or prieste of Notrodame, the chiefe church of Roan, who was slaine even upon the verie trenches that the king had made; and his body recovered by those of his, but by much to doe. And there were vi. or vii. of the king's syde slayne, and ix. hurte; they worke dayly, and will be very shortelye in the dytch, if they contynew.

Nov. 22. The 22. my lord ambassador, who lyeth at the kinges quarter, made a greate feaste unto the generall of the Allmayne forces, (47) where some of ours weare, and observed the complements due to a Dutche-fed feaste. It is said the Gascons are dyscontented for wante of money; whereby the French may dyscerne what dyfference is betwixte them and us, who have held our selves here, with a verie bare intreatye, to serve our quene and advance our owne honor; and they demaund, now they come, to be ymploid unto hazard wayne and ghelte. The same daie, my lord's coche, with his iiii. fayre mayres, a pryncypall horse of sir Phillipe Buttler's, and some viii. small horse more, were taken, which were retournynge hether from the conduction of my lord to Deape, by their owne willfulnesse and follye, being to be conducted by mr. Oliver Saynt John (a brave, discreate, and honeste man), cornet to my lord, who had some xx. horse for their convoy, and appoynted them to stay upon the topp of an hill without the towne, untyll he had gathered his companye together; but they, out of their securytie and willfullnes, wente on before and lost their way, and lighted upon th'ennemye, who, being some xx. horse, tooke them, slewe my lord's yeoman of the horse, who made only resistance, and paid the price of his lyfe therefore, being shott into the head with a stele bullett, and lefte dead upon the place. Sir

John Wotton going from hence, only with iii. horse, mett them on the waye, and bad them take heade, for th'ennemye was abroade; but noe advise could hould them from that their willfullness and destynye had determyned. My cousin Buttler's boy saved him a right good horse, worth *cl.*, and so would he were myne, by ronnynge awaye, and, wandring whether his feare drave him, lighted uppon the convoy, to whom he declared the successe, who, uppon the spurr, wente to the place where they were taken, and pursued the tract of the coche, but the nighte so came upon them that they were hable noe more to follow, but towards Newhaven they wente. The same daie mr. Thorax, of Kente, going himself with some vi. others, was mightylye pursued; himselfe and his sonne saved themselves by vertue of their horse leggs; but he lost iii. of his companye; one Foulces, and an other taken, and a proper gentleman, one Wakefield, slaine (as is said). Theise, and the lyke, are the newes that everie daye yealdeth us here.

Nov. 23. The 23. we had by some mysfortune 2 houses burnte in our quarter; in the quenching whereof there was more then an ordynarie noyse, which caused (as I gesse) a greate sally out of the towne; whereupon our centnyll shott and cryed allarme, and a generall report that our trenches were taken, but yt was not so yll; but if yt had, we mighte easyly have found a greate nomber who had a verie goodwill to have recovered them quyckly againe; but when our fyre was appesed, certaine of ours being desirous to requyte the allarme, mounted on horsebacke under the benefyte of the myste and stole downe uppon the *courte de gard,* that they kepte a lytle before the gate of the towne, and slewe 4 or 5, and the reste escaped by ronnyng into the towne-dytches and walls, and other burnte howses thereabouts.

Nov. 24. Wednesdaie the 24., I being desirous to see the marques of Allegra placed in his castle of Blendville, lately recovered from th'ennemye, being a verie courteous gentleman and my friend, accompanyed with 2 or 3 wente to vysyte him, and after some waundrings out of the waie, which mighte have coste us dere (but

to avoid the worste we weare well horste,) we arryved there, and were intreated with greate kyndness of the marquesse.

Nov. 25. The 25. in the mornynge, being an eie-sore to us to see the *cors de gard* before the gate and their sentynyll, kepte at a churche nere our trenches, and there caryinge away the roufe of the churche, which they daylye doe, there were certaine of ours sente downe under the coverte of an hollowe way, who were upon the sentynyll, and the reste that were breakinge downe of the churche, before they were aware, and cutt many of their throats; and those that came for their rescue from the *cors de gard*, some of them had the same success, and ours retorned without any greate detrymente: in th'afternoone they being come to the same place againe, there were 2 serjants sente with some 10 the same way for the lyke feate; but what for the mystakinge of the waye, and severaunce betwixte the commaunders, were dyscovered, as not goinge with resolution as was meete; and making an houlte, th'ennemye had planted under a wall soundrie shott which slewe 2 of ours, and others of their *cors de gard* pressed the rest so hardly that ours quytted their bodies, where you might have discerned a cowardlye creweltie, for there were not so fewe as xl. that thrust their swords into the bodies being dead, and thus they gloryed. Our glorye of the mornynge was somewhat demynyshed by the successe of the eveninge. But herein I reserve somewhat to be spoken in a frend's eare, and not meete to be adventured to paper. God send my lord a speedie retorne, or els, &c.

Nov. 26. The 26. I wente to the king's quarter, where I sawe him dyne; and afterwards I wente to see how the trenches were advaunced before St. Katherin's, where we found 4 peeces of batterie plaunted to batter in flancke, and gabbyons plaunted to batter the curtaine betwixte the 2 greate bullwarkes, but I thincke if he had greater habylytie he would advaunce with greater expedition. In our retorne we mett the kinge and the prince Vanhaulte (of Anhalt) with him, who going into the trenches, and being the nexte man to the king's person, was shott in the foote and one of

his toes broken. This daie there arryved at the courte the cardynall of Burbon, (48) the comte St. Pooll, the chancellor, and many others, as well spyrytuall as temporall. This daie we sawe marche into the kampe twoe of the king's regiments of lawnce knights, where more pore people did I never see nor worse armed and attyred; and that yet to behold our bands are gallants in comparison of them: they growe dyscontented for wante of money, and yt is for assured that if her majestie be not a meane to detayne them they wilbe gone before we shall see the end of this service, for th'ennemye is gallante and prowde, and kepte 200 horse on the hill betwixte the king's quarter and ours all this daie; and there kepte above; and, had it not bene that God was my guyde, in my retorne I had come full upon them, as being the nerer waie, and the waie my lord generall did ever use to goe.

Nov. 27. This daie noething happened worthie the wrytinge, more then that it is said that the duke de Mayne suspected him that governed the bastylion at Paris to be toe much Spanysh, [and] threatened him out of it with the cannon. They have executed *à Paris* the cheife presydente, as gaynesaying the publique determynation to render to the kinge of Spaine. (As it is said) this daie a page commynge into the king's quarter with a letter from Villiers to some men aboute the king, was reprehended, and he ymmediatly put the letters into his mouth to have eaten them, and had so doan but that one caught him by the throate, and made him spytt them out; but they were so marred, that noething could be read at all; he hath bene tortured, and confessed some things for the king's torne in this buysines.

Nov. 28. The 28., about xii. a'clocke in the mornynge, there came out of the forte of St. Katherin's 1400 principal horsemen bravely armed, and betwixte 700 and 2000 foote, and came to th'artyllerie planted before the castle, where there was a *cors de gard* of Swyssers, who upon the first fighte quytted their gard, and if they had not bene seconded by the Gascons they had loste their artyllerie, for they had broughte nayles and hammers to have

cloied * the peeces, wherewith one was taken by a Swize, who only kepte sentnyll, and cutt off the hand of one of the horsemen that was about to cloie one of the cannons; and so after a great skyrmysh, many slaine and hurte, th'ennemye was putt in.

Nov. 29. The 29. I wente with some others unto the king's quarter, and from thence to the trenches before the castle, where I found some lytle thing advaunced, but noething to any purpose, neyther yet can I gesse that they have meanes to doe more. All or their greatest hopes are of the helpe of England, which God sende quickely, if at all; for here is cold beinge. The king we mett going out a' hontinge, wherein he taketh greate delight: it was said he would have taken a voiage unto Deape for some performaunce of some vowes and devotyons unto some unshreived saint there; but it is said that the marshall Biron told him that, if he wente from hence, then he would goe into Gascony, for he knew well that his army of voluntarie nobylytie would be dysbanded if he were but twoe daies from hence.

Nov. 30. The 30., the commaunders here, taking at the harte the slacke performaunce and yll successe of our late skyrmysh, wherein we loste twoe brave soldiors and [were] enforced to quytt their bodies, laid an ambuscado in there places, capten Barton in a seller of an howse pulled downe nere to their dytche and the towne porte, with 24 shott, capten Henry Powre in another place, with some 16 pykes, and some shott of monsieur Hallard's on th' other syde the porte; and this being in this sorte laid before daie, about viii. a'clocke th' ennemye opened the portes, and came unto the usuall place of *cors de gard*, which is some 6 or 8 score from the porte, and after they had bene a while there and sett out their sentnylls sir Roger Williams, with all the choiseste of us being there in the trenches, caused some muskatiers to shoote at their sentnylls, and sent some other shott to beate them in, who was seconded from their gard. The skyrmish grewe warme, and xxx^{tie} on a syde at the leaste: ours, according to dyrections, retreated, to bringe th' ennemye

* To spike the cannon.

more within the daunger of our ambuscado, and then the signe was given, which was the throwing-up of a hatt with feathers of sir Thomas Baskervill's, and which was not observed by Barton, who was first by dyrection to have dyscovered himselfe, but we fayne to call and crye, which caused th' ennemye to suspect, and made a vyolente retreate as fast as their leggs could carye them to the porte, and Barton fell shorte of them for wante of some better speede (as it is taken), but it is said there fell 4 or 6 of theirs, and ours had the spoyle of their *cors de gard*, and had some cloakes and weapons; but in our retreate they shott 4 or 5 peeces of artyllerie, one of the which unfortunately lighted upon Hallard Mountmorancye, slaying his horse, and breakinge of his legg below the knee; and the rest of us, I thancke God, came home safe and sound, dyned by a good fyre, and eate capons, plovers, and larkes, and drancke the best wyne we could gett; and this is the care we take, and the means we have, to preserve us from the cold. This daie retorned the Ireland capten Powre, who hath bene these vi. daies abroade in th' ennemyes countrie to fetch provision for the army, and hath broughte 60 kyne and 30 muttons, and yt is to be thoughte that he that can provide so well for the generall hath not neglected his partyculer: he had soundrie fights, and lost 2 or 3 of his best men.

Dec. 1. The firste of December, accompanyed with 2 or 3 gentlemen, I went to vysyte monsieur Hallard, and beheld the dressing of his wound, which in common opynyon is not deadly, but hath marred his dauncyng, if not his goinge. This daie being a great myst, th' ennemye had laid soundrie ambuscadoes for us, and with all invention of villanous railing they thoughte to have drawn us out of our trenches to skyrmysh, but ours, foreseing the padd in the strawe, have deferred to aunswer their words tyll we be strong ynough to breake their heads. This afternoone, to drive awaie idlenes, I wente to a monasterie of nonnes, about a league and a halfe from our quarter, where we so behaved our selves that we receyved very kynd wellcomes, and a banckett of xx^{tie} severall

dyshes of preserved fruits. The abbesse was of the house of Baskeville, a verie goodly gentlewoman, and wore her habyt very neate and properlye: she is a woman exceeding well-spoken, and of good behavior, but of yeeres meeter for God then for the world. But there was 2 or 3 younger noons, and all gentlewomen of good house, whom I know, if you had sene, you would have pyttyed their loss of tyme; and so, having spente 2 or 3 howres there, retorned home to our strawe bed.

Dec. 2. Thursdaie, the second daie, was a verie mystie daie, and darke, and lytle donne. This daie the pyoneers arryved here, whom for want of soldiors we are inforced to strengthen our gard withall.

Dec. 3. Frydaie there came to lye with us, to strengthen monsieur Hallard's quarter, one monsieur S^t^. Dennys, who kyrbeth th' ennemye on that syde better than those that were there before him, a verie brave man, and so are those that are his; and that which hath bene much spoken of, and nothing donne, which is to keepe a *cors de gard* hard by where th' ennemye kepeth theirs, he undertoke to doe.

Dec. 4. The 4. we possessed our selves of the church before the gates were open or th' enemy came out, which when they discerned, they yssued at the openynge of the gates in greater numbers than they used; and presently began a very great skyrmysh, which was handled verie soldior-lyke on both sides, and fine advantages taken, as well of high grounds of defence, lowe wayes, and walls of ruynated houses, and the lyke. They were seconded by some 40 of our shott, and 100 pykes for their defence if any horse had sallyed, and it contynewed 2 howres, and 500 bulletts at the leaste spente, with many cannon shott; and yett not above vi., as we could gesse, slaine on both sydes. Afterwards we wente to the king's quarter, and sawe many things provyded for his approches being nerer than he was, many gabbyons and engyns caryed upon wheeles in makinge. I was asked by the kinge (whom I mett with many about him), what newes of "monsieur le comte,"

meanyng my lord generall, whose commynge or staying may hinder or further much the action. They saie, that speake for certaine, that the duke of Parma (49) is entred Fraunce, and that he sends for all his friends to come and assist him: it is thoughte the lyklyest meane for him to rayse his siege against Deape. The king hath planted 2 cannons more in flancke, from whence he beateth in such sorte, that noe man sheweth himselfe now uppon the rampiers. It is said that chevalier Dois, the governor's brother, should goe out this nighte poste with c. horse, through the slacke gard of the French quarters. This daie monsieur St. Dennys hath wroughte contynually to make himselfe stronge in the church, where I being this afternoone might see the governor on horsebacke upon the rampiers, whom he caused two of his sentnylls to shoote at, and they requyted him with a pece of artyllerie. The king, with his vi. pieces that are planted in flancke upon the castle, have plaid all this daie.

Dec. 5. The 5. I wente downe to the church, to see what our newe neighbor monsieur St. Dennys had doan, whom I found had made some lytle strengthes with casting of earth and laying of faggots in iiii. several places, scarce an harquebuz-shott one from an other, where he labored all daie and nighte, and himselfe carried me from place to place to shew me his determynations; and so nere daunger, being utterlie unarmed, and in daunger of the small shott from the walls, that had yt not bene that a foolysh hardy Frenchman should have said that an Englishman durst not adventure his lyfe fondly as he, I could have bene contented to have bene in our trenches. From the walls was made soundrie small shott upon us, and he being attended with some x. harquebuz, gave a volley to those which stood upon the rampyers, which were many; and so I tooke my leave, leaving him in his braving humor. After dynner I wente to see monsieur Hallard, whom I hope to be in greate hope of recovery; and retorninge, we might dyscerne from our trenches a greate skyrmysh at the castle, and the contynuall playing of our vi. pieces of artyllerie that are placed

in flancke. All this daie they never opened the porte, as rarely they do upon the Soundaie.

Dec. 6. Uppon Mondaie, in the mornynge, we all expected some sporte, when th'ennemye should come unto his *cors de gard* of the half moone, which was within twenty pykes of the nerest *cors de gard* that the said St. Dennys had made, and we having walked in the trenches untyll ten a'clocke expecting it, and the gates never openinge, nor noe bodie sallying, I wente with sir Roger Williams and many other gentlemen to the castle, to see what our 110 pyoneers (which the king had the night before) had donne there; and passing through the king's quarter, and understanding he was readie to go a'huntinge, we alighted and came to his presence, who intreated the most of us with partycular salutation, and told us that he would on huntinge, and the marshall Biron, and after dynner to our quarter, much praysing our pyoneers, who wrought with their axes, and their pykes by them, and upon any allarme lefte their pykeaxes and toke their pykes; and told us he had sente them 12 hogsheads of wyne and 200 loves to make them merrye; and taking horse, we wente to the castle, and found that what he said they receyved, for they had intrenched themselves neerer then his former intrenches, within a butt's length of the verie dytch of the castle, which with some hazard we wente into, and found some 4 of ours shott and one slaine with a faucon bullett, and a French capten with the selfsame, who came to look on. Having passed some howre or twoe, in our retorninge home we might dyscerne the marshall with the baron his sonne, and a great troupe, going towards our quarter; but when we came to the hill betwixte the king's quarter and ours, we dyscerned by eie and eare a mightye skyrmysh, horse, foote, artyllerie, pystolls, launces, swords, and what els soever, and a greate noyce; the which we seing came upon the spurr, to take parte with our freinds, captens, and compagnyons; and uppon our arryvall we found as followeth: Betwixt xii. and one th'ennemye, having kepte the porte shutt all daie, on a sodaine

lett fall the bridge, and yssued out as it were in a cluster, and one in an other's necke 1200 harquebuz, 150 horse in three squadrons, one of lawnces with orange-tawnye bandrolls, the others pystoliers, both well armed, and the third harquebuz on horsebacke; and then followed the foote allmost 200 pykes, 200 harquebuz, led with pryncypall men excellently well armed, and came on with such speede, that our sentnylls had noe leysure to give the *cors de gard* any other warninge but by commynge awaie without any manner of resistaunce, yet without any shott dyscharged upon them on th'ennemyes syde. They quytted 3 of Hallard's *cors de gard*, not without the losse of their lives which the horsemen could overtake. The 4th *cors de gard*, where their greatest strength was, being a large house without a roofe, the walls being a pyke length high, with many loope holes to shoote out at; th'ennemye, with men for that purpose excellently well armed, by the advantage of the walls got to the topp thereof, and leaped in amongst them most resolutelye, and putt them all to the sword that was within, and those that escaped their fury fell upon the horsemen, who had the lyke mercye. The horsemen advanced themselves so farr that our sentnylls and the rest quytted our trenches, but sir Thomas Gerrard (50) happyly at the instaunte drewe out the gard of the daie into the field to make stand, and gave allarme to all our armye, which came out full faste and forward, and when his gallants dyscerned the fast stand of our pykes, they had noe will to come nere to see of what wood they were made; but after some shott of pystolls towards our forward gallants, where capten Barton was daungerously hurte in the face, and seeing 150 pyoneers of ours come out, to second ours, with their pykes, whom they knew not but for our soldiers, they retyred, and we possessed our troupe of trenches. Marshall Biron arryved in the middest of this furie upon the hill with a greate troupe of horse and made the retreate, we making shewe with our pykes as though we would besett the hill which marshall Biron held; but (our strength considered) not meete for ours. After the retreate I wente downe

with some others to see what was doan, and found dead bodies in every place, a wounderfull butcherie within the *cors de gard* one upon an other, and to see the place it cannot be denyed but th' ennemye had a brave resolution: I told xxx. dead there, and xvi. in the gardens, hedges, and other places. There were two captens in chiefe slayne, and ii. gentlemen of especyall marke and reputation; the name of one was monsieur St. Sever, both whose bodies th' ennemye toke away: some of them and their horses staid behind, but few taken. The nomber of th'ennemye to my eies were above 50; but the best opynyon is, that there were slaine above 100. Presently hereupon grew a new allarme upon other cause or lykelihood of matter, but you never saw such ronnynge; and had it not bene for sir Roger Williams, sir Thomas Baskervill, sir Thomas Gerrard, myselfe, and others, I think they had ronne tyll this time; who, being upon the side of the hill, might discerne there was noe such cause of feare as they pretended: and thus have you the most prowd* sally that any capten here can tell of to their memorie. The night of this daie those of monsieur Hallard's quarter did thinke in parte to have bene revenged on th'ennemye, and doe their endevor to make them afraid in revenge of the daies worke; and soe some xx. or xxx. wente unto the porte and to severall other places, finding their sentnylls, and shott at them, thincking to give the towne allarm or to waken some of them at the leaste, that had a lytle before given some of their fellowes a drincke of everlasting sleepe: but what they did to th'ennemye I knowe not, but we their pore freinds here, not knowing their intente and hearing so greate a volley, kepte us from our straw tyll mydnighte.

Dec. 7. The 7. there passed noething worthie the memorie, more then bringing the pyoneers into our quarter to reinforce us. In the mean tyme, I leave you to judge how we dwell here, and the untymely death of my cozin sir Richard Acton,(51) of the dezease of the kampe, which is a pestylent ague, (52) somewhat lesse then a plague.

* Anciently, prow, *i. e.* valiant; hence prowess.

Dec. 8. The 8. I wente into the trenches upon my first rysing, and at the opening of the gate, the *cors de gard* of Hallard's quarter toke the allarme, and quytted the *cors de gard;* but being incouraged from our trenches they stood to yt, promysing them to second, and they toke harte of grace and retorned to their gards after some light skyrmish. The king, this daie, came to our quarter; and sir Roger Williams, sir Thomas Baskerville, and I, being in our trenches, wente to meete him, and the first salutation he made us was to this effecte. "You muste wryte into England that we must have leave to marchandyze; for the duke of Parma is marched iii. dayes march into Fraunce." He allighted and viewed the ground for some approches to be made; but we must be stronger firste: and then toke his horse and wente to vysyt monsieur Hallard. This nighte there were severall notices given of fyre out of an high steeple in the towne, which is some advertysements th'ennemye giveth of some of his without.

Dec. 9. The 9th, we being in the mornynge dyspleased at the pryde of th'ennemye, they commyng as it were with triumphe with xx. boats full of harquebuz, bournte soundrie houses in an island in the river, over against our quarter, where the king is determyned to buyld some fortyfycations as well to commaund the river as to annoy the towne; they burnte certaine howses that were therein, and cutt downe the trees and caryed them away, as much as they thought mete for their purpose. Sir Nicolas Clyfford, and some 40 with him, laie in the nerest ambuscado to the towne; sir Thomas Baskervill laie in an hollowe way to have seconded them upon any occasion; and sir Roger Williams, with the pryncypall gentlemen of the armye and others, to have come to their rescue: and in this sorte we all stood expecting tyll xi. a clock, and they never yssued. Some thinke they dyscovered certayne of ours from the topp of an high steeple; and seing it prevayled not, every man arose and came to dynner. Sir Roger and I were invyted to certaine French gentlemen, where we dranke carowses; and what eyther with the cold of the long expectation

in the mornynge, or overmuch wyne at dynner, th'one syde of my head did ake 2 daies after. The king this daie toke his jorney to Gisors, where it seemed that he had taken some knowledge that monsieur Flavencourt, his governor there, had too much intelligences with the Leaguers.(53)

Dec. 10. The x. we had a wonderfull greate brute of artyllerie, which made us thinke that there had bene some fighte amongst our shipps, that brought our artyllerie up the river from Deape, and th'ennemye; but it proved noething but a triumphe of their arryvall at Codebecke, and the joy of the towne there.

Dec. 11. The xi., to take the fresh ayre out of this infectious place, 3 or 4 of us on horsebacke, well mounted, went to take our adventure from hill to dale, and from one good village to another, and enquyring whose house this was, and whose castle th'other, we were informed where some good and gracefull company was of fayre ladies, where, after some dexterytie to gett the gates opened, we so behaved our selves, that we were not only for the present well banquetted, but with severall cortesies entertayned and intreated to make our abode there all nighte, which we durst not for certain considerations adventure, but since invyted to retorne: Sir, I assure you, the companie was not unpleasing unto my kind harte. The nighte drawing on and the countrye daungerous, with pystolls and swords drawn, upon a gallopp we came home, and upon our arryvall, I found a greate friend of myne, the marques de Allegra, who had earnestly sente to desyre me to procure him some xx. pykes, whom he would well intreate for their owne sakes and myne, for his better defence of his government of Gisors; yet I was not (to my greife) any way hable to procure them (our weaknes here considered).

Dec. 12. This daie, a serjante of the pyoneers had conspyred to lead away 50 or 60 pyoneers, of the pryncypalleste of them, into Roan, which being dyscovered, they were, by a cownsell at warr, thereupon heald, all brought to the tree, and the serjant only executed for example, in the presence of them all. This

daie, in th'afternoone, th'ennemy made a great sally upon the Swizers' quarter, of above 100 horse, and 50 or 60 foote, and soe sodainly fell upon their quarter that they slewe 2 or 3 of their sentnylls; but the plaine honest men put themselves in a-readynes with such spede as their hevy humor might permytt, and followed with their auncients flying, their dromes beating, and them selves all armed, downe towards the towne with shott of the cannon. This daie there hapened a thing to a gentleman worthie the markinge, to dyscerne the corruption of theise warrs. This gentleman having a fayre horse in a large village not farr hence, was desyrous to have a protection from my lord generall, who promysed to provyde him a certaine quantytie of oats and hay weekely, which he justly performed. There were a coople sente to gard his house, and there commynge certaine of monsieur Hallard's lackies for forage upon that village, they were not onlye roughly intreated, but their horses taken from them: whereupon they retorning to their maister's the night following at mydnight, 40 curasses entered the house, with force toke our Englysh prisoners, wounded the master to death, spoyled his house, toke their owne horses, and all his, and the next newes that we heard of our Englysh was that they were prisoners in Roan, sould to th'ennemye by those that will hold us their friends to serve their owne turnes; by this I leave you to gesse and conceave the rest. This nighte we receaved intelligence from many places, that th'ennemye had determynation to force our quarter, whereby our sentnylls were doobled and our gards reinforced, and we slepte like hares, with open eies.

Dec. 13. The xiii. the fame thereof increased, and thereby our expectation and readynes contynewed.

Dec. 14. The 14. our worthie and long looked for generall arryved with those he wente with, and only accompanyed with one that was not here before, mr. Harcott (54); and notwithstanding his long and greate jorney, whereof his followers were wearie, he would nedes, before his alighting, goe downe to the trenches, and hear-

ing of the greate threatenings, whereof we were somewhat in doubte, he would needes call unto a sentynyll of th'ennemye, and bad him tell monsieur Villiers that he was come with some 20 gentlemen with him, and that if he would enterpryse any thing against the Englysh quarter he must doe it eyther that nighte or never, for the nexte daie we should be too stronge for him; there being to array 2000 Englysh of the old bands of the Low Countryes this nighte. Whilest he was at supper, the sentnylls and *cors de gard* toke a greate allarme, occasioned by the gally and some other boats that wente downe fraighte with harquebuz and other small shott, thincking to have surprysed a village wherein certaine French bands are lodged, but they fayled of their enterpryse, and after a greate nomber of shott made, they retyred: we stood in armes in the field, to expect the successe of that sally, above twoe howres, and a colder wynd did I never feele.

Dec. 15. The king retorned from Gisors, having with fayre words but effectuall dedes dysplaced the suspected governor. My lord wente to vysyte him, who was much wellcomed.

Dec. 16. The 16. monsieur Grinion, (55) who is a greate intermitter to drawe a composition betwixte the king and the towne, and is a knight of the Holly Ghost, a greate favoryte of the late king, and nere kynne unto Villiers, and one by whom he was first bredd into the world, whose brother is governor of Hunfleur, by Villiers appoyntment; and yet they have procured his newtralytie, and sufferred the king's shipping to passe without ympeachment. He was shott following the kinge into the trenche, into the arme above the ellbowe.

Dec. 17. The 17. I wente to the horse quarter to take muster, where we found few lesse than 200 horse, but much fallen from the plyghte that men and horse were in at the first muster at Deape upon our arryvall, where then everie one had plumes and now some were without hatts: but yet they commaund the countrie, and domineer, and have their parts in any thing passinge. In my retorne I mett with a lubberly serving-man upon sir William Hangetree his best

horse, who as he said was unhorste by a dozen carbynes, and his horse taken from him: in such securytie ryde we here, that we knowe neither freind nor enemye; but all is good boote for him that is the stronger.

Dec. 18. The 18. I toke muster of all the 25 old companies and deducted them into viii., and are shorte of their nomber. This daie the prowde Rollett, (56) governor of de Larches and Loviers, was taken prisoner on the further syde of the river by breach of fayth of th'ennemye, others say by good war[ning]; but howsoever he is safe, and greate tryumphe made of his taking, being a man that hath doan them much harme, and, as they say, has broken his oath and fayth with them heretofore.

Dec. 19. The 19. the bands of the Low Countries were mustered, and 5 of them were presentlye sente unto an other quarter, where they kepte watch and ward everie third nighte, and my lord himselfe with many other pryncypall gentlemen which watch everie third nighte, being within iii. pykes length of th'ennemyes gard, where they have contynuall shooting, and dyvers of our pyoneers slaine, and sir Edmund Yorke hurte on the head. My lord generall had great speech with chevalier Pickard, (57) who asked for his mistress that he had in England, and promysed to come and dyne with his lordship one daie, and there passed many fayre speeches between them, but the bulletts wente apace the meane tyme.

Dec. 20. The xx. we had greate rumors of the duke of Parma his commynge to Deape, as it is thoughte, where they all worke mightylye, and noe man exempted from working upon their rampyers and fortes. If he come thither, and if her majestie healpe not well, God helpe us and them here!

Dec. 21. The xxi. my lord, going unto Dernytall, was daungerously scarred with a peece of artyllerie, and a Dutch gentleman slayne, being the next man unto him, attending the baron of Stenberge, who was at the corte at Wyndsor the last yere, who rode with my lord. This daie there arryved 3 pynnaces of ours over against our quarter, where they caste ancor, and were saluted

with many cannon shot from the old pallace; but in the nighte they fell downe lower, fearing to be awaked. This daie th'ennemye made a verie greate sallye upon the village underneath the castle of Saint Katerin's, where ours receyved greate prayse for being presently in readynes and yssuing out to encounter th'ennemye; sir Conyers Clyfford receyved greate prayse both of forwardnes and of good dyrections that daie. The king being on the head of the hill, and seing that sally, came downe like god Mars his thunderbolt, but verie slenderly attended: he gathered unto him those that were scattered upp and downe: they prest th'ennemye by meane of the foote, who were verie forward, and putt th'ennemye quickly within the gate.

Dec. 22. This daie monsier de Graund and baron Biron were elected knights of the Holy Ghost of that fraternity. (58) The weather hath been verie extreme 4 or 5 daies, and lytle provision commeth to our markett, what for the unsecurytie of the passage for pore men, by coldnes of the weather, and the wannts of the countrie, for we are now come to forage xii. miles off, so that we are compelled to send out our carts one daie, and come home the next, but with great daunger.

Dec. 23. This daie we have a greate allarme of the removing of our quarter from hence, whereby to be neerer the trenches of Saint Katherin's castle, where now we watche iii. daies in a weeke, being of ours but five companyes, and with th'assistaunce of the voluntarie gentlemen who watche there to advaunce their honor; which is a large proportion for such a handfull of men as we are, and shame for the rest that are 10,000 in the leaste accownte, that will dysproportion us so much, and would doe more if all our companys were there.

Dec. 24. This daie my lord generall wente to the trenches (59) with many, where we forced th'ennemye from the counterscape, and slewe many, and toke many cloakes, weapons, and the lyke, to the greate reputation of the doers. Baron Biron toke upon him to defend the ground which was wonne, which was of a

verie mightie importaunce, and such as without it they could not have held the forte iii. daies: but th'e[nnemye,] fynding the mischeife, sallyed out in greate nombers the 25. about xi. o'clocke, and forced the gard there; ours fought verie bravely for halfe an howre, and never seconded of the French; sir Thomas Baskerville lykely to have bene taken; capten Marson did th'office of a manfull capten; our soldiors had spente all their powder and shott; th'ennemye with greate fury drove downe the barells of earth, which we had laid for our defence in the trenches; sir Thomas Baskervill sawe no remedye but to sally out, and to beate them with the pyke and hallberte, but [he] was slenderly followed, and forced to retyre, abandoned of too many of our common soldiers, but xvii. gentlemen and offycers relyed (rallied) and made a stand. This is the truth; but I pray you use yt with your wonted dyscretion; for I would not wryte thus much but to you. This is sir John Wingfield's nighte and myne to watch; you shall heare, if yt please God, we will discharge the duty of honest men; my lord himselfe goeth also.

NOTES.

(1.) *Dieppe.* The English camp was at Arques near Dieppe. " My lord had over with him two hundred horse, and foure thousand foote, besides voluntaryes, which were many. After that my lord had stayed at Arques beside Deep some three weeks or more, and had commodiously lodged his army, [that is, still at Arques,] he made a journey to Noyon, and passed still through the enemies country, without any let or interruption, and took only his two hundred horse for his guard." (Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth.) This is the march which our Journal more minutely describes.

(2.) *Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, K.G.* the successor of his step-father the earl of Leycester as the favourite of his royal mistress, was only eleven years of age at his father's death in 1576. At the period before us he was twenty-six. He had previously taken every opportunity of distinguishing himself in a military capacity. In his early manhood he joined the earl of Leycester's army in the Netherlands, and was made a knight banneret after the battle of Zutphen, in which his cousin sir Philip Sydney received his mortal wound. At Tilbury Camp in 1588, the queen made him general of the horse. In the next year he went the Portugal voyage, without having previously obtained the permission of his royal mistress. He now engaged in the wars of France. His later actions in Spain and in Ireland are well known.

(3.) *Sir Roger Williams came from the king with letters.* This was thus announced in a letter of sir Henry Unton, the English ambassador, to lord Burghley, written at Dieppe on the 15th August. " Sir Roger Williams came hether with an earnest message [from the] king, signifyinge his greate desier to speake with my lo[rd generall] before his (the king's) goinge towardes Lorraine, whether he is pre[paring his] journy, to hasten his strangers ; where uppon his l[ordship is] gonn, onelie with his horse, to meete him att Gysors, and pro[poses to be] here backe againe by the ende of six daies, havinge left . . . . of foote remaininge here." MS. Cotton. Calig. E. VIII. fol. 304.

(4.) *Sir Roger Williams* was the marshal of the English army. An anecdote regarding him is told in the Camden Society's early volume of " Anecdotes and Traditions," p. 47, where the editor has appended the character which Camden bestowed upon him on his death in 1595. His name also occurs several times in the Society's volume of Leycester Correspondence, the earl of Leycester on one occasion (the battle of Zutphen) affirming " that Roger Williams is worth his weight in gold, for he is noe more valiant than he is wise, and of judgment to governe his doings." Sir Roger Williams was the author of " A brief Discourse of Warre, 4to. 1590," which is dedicated to the earl of Essex. He

also wrote an account of the Actions in the Low Countries, printed, some time after his death, in 4to. 1618. This book is dedicated to sir Francis Bacon, by sir Peter Manwood, "in whose hands the manuscript had long lyen," and an introductory address to the reader is prefixed, written by sir John Haywarde.

(5.) *Master Devereux.* This was the lord general's only brother, Walter Devereux. He was "slain with a small shot before Rouen" (Stowe's Chronicle) on the 8th of September (see note 18). In Murdin's Cecill Papers, and in the Hatton Correspondence, edited by Sir N. H. Nicolas, will be found a letter of sir Christopher Hatton to the earl of Essex, dated Oct. 5, condoling with him on his loss. Camden mentions him on occasion of the Portugal voyage in 1589, which (he states) the earl of Essex was induced to join, partly because several of the colonels and captains had been obliged to his brother for their preferment. Sir Henry Wotton also bears a remarkable testimony to the talents of Walter Devereux, "And here I must not smoother what I have received by constant information, that his own father died with a very cold conceit of him (the Earl), some say through affection to his second son Walter Devereux, who was indeed a diamond of the time, and both of a hardy and delicate temper and mixture." Again, in speaking of the earl's military employments, he distinguishes as "The saddest, that of Roan, where he lost his brave brother." Parallel of the earl of Essex and duke of Buckingham.

(6.) *Monsieur de Moy.* Charles d'Humières, marquis de Mouy or Moy. He was slain in attacking the Spanish camp at Ham, in 1595, when Sully terms him "the best and bravest officer in all Picardy," and de Thou says he was lamented by the king and the whole kingdom. There is a MS. memoir of his illustrious actions in the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 8930.

(7.) *Marquis of Pisana.* Jehan de Vivonne, marquis of Pisana ; he was ambassador to the Pope in 1593, when Henri IV. had determined to be reconciled to the see of Rome.

(8.) *Duke Longueville.* Henri duc de Longueville, descended from the comte of Dunois, bastard of Orleans (who died 1470.) He succeeded his father 1573, and died 1595.

(9.) *Count of St. Pol.* Francois comte de St. Pol, brother to the duc de Longueville, was governor of Picardy. He died in 1631.

(10.) *Siege of Noyon.* This town had been taken on the 9th of August. Mémoires do la Ligue, vol. iv. p. 65. The articles of capitulation in the original French are in MS. Cotton. Calig. E. VIII. f. 418, and a translation at f. 416.

(11.) *The marshall Biron.* Armand de Gontault, marêchal Biron. Next to the king, says Sully, he was regarded as the chief support of the Protestants. He retained

a lively temperament in his old age, as evinced by the anecdotes related by our author in pp. 25, 36. He was killed the following year, when besieging Epernai. His son, Charles de Gontault, the baron Biron mentioned in p. 17 and elsewhere, was afterwards made a maréchal in 1594.

(12.) *The breach at which our English men tooke the abbey.* "The kinge hath also latelie taken by assaulte the abbey in the suburbs of Noyon, stronge and well fortified, which was onlie executed by sir Roger Williams and his companies, who behaved themselves verie valiantly and with great reputation, and if capten George* had been seconded when he advanced himself to the bridge of the towne to enter *pesle mesle* with the enemie, they had taken the towne, but for want thereof he was taken prisoner, and was sore hurte with a shott."—Letter of sir Henry Unton to lord treasurer Burghley, dated "from Deepe, 17th of August, 1591, newe stile." MS. Cotton. Calig. E. VIII. f. 312, v.

(13.) *The duke Montpensier.* Henri de Bourbon, duke of Montpensier. He commanded an army for Henri IV. in Normandy, and was very successful in taking many towns from the Leaguers.

(14.) *The king tooke his journey to Ruytters.* The occurrence thus mentioned seems to have been that the king, after having welcomed his English auxiliaries, went to receive those, the Reiters, he expected from Germany. "The kinge departed on frydaie last towardes Challons, accompanied onlie with only 500 or 600 horse, to meete the armye of Reisters there, from whom he receaved advertisement of their arrival at Metz, the 28th of this present moneth *stilo novo:* with a further declaration that since the said armyes dislodgment from Strasburgh, there is joined to the same above six thousand Frenche, horse and foote, of persons that had retyred themselves out of the realme, by occasion of the present troubles: so as the same armye is thereby greatly increasede [*the two last words substituted by sir Henry Unton for* raised to the nombre of 30,000 men, *which his secretary had written.*]" Letter of sir Henry Unton to lord Burghley, 31st August. MS. Calig. E. VIII. f. 322, v. In the same volume, f. 566, *et seq.* are several documents in French, being the articles between the French king and "Les Reistres." They are printed in Rymer's Fœdera, xvi. 180, *et seq.* Sir Roger Williams says, "The Almaines, during the time they carried launces, caried a farre greater reputation than they doo now, being pistolers named *Rutters.*" (Discourse of Warre, p. 35.) Sir Henry Unton reports, "The kinge is much discontent with the manner of his Reisters marching, who if they march 2 daies will rest 3, which hath hindred his service and the enterprise of Roan." Letter, Oct. 1591, to lord chancellor Hatton, MS. Calig. E. VIII. p. 296, v. Our author's opinion of them will be be seen in p. 51, where he speaks of them as the king's "lawnce knights:" having previously, in p. 48, called them "the Gascons."

(15.) *Duke de Mayne.* Charles de Lorraine, duke of Maienne, second son of Francois de Lorraine, duke of Guise, was the general of the league.

* Ferdinando Gorges, afterwards knighted by the earl of Essex on the 8th Oct.

(16.) *Louviers* was taken by Henry IV. through the treachery of a priest, who was employed as a watchman on the belfry. The sieur du Rollet, mentioned by our author, was the man who conducted the surprise. (Memoirs of Sully.)

(17.) *Our army was marched from Arches.* The lord general had sent for his footmen, which he had left at Arques on the day at which the Journal commences. "Being all safe at Pontlarge, my lord sent to Arques for all his foote to come to him, which came in five or six days. After they had rested awhile, he took leave of the governour, and marched by small journeys toward Rouen* (for then wee feared no encounter of any enemy)." Memoirs of Robert Cary, earl of Monmouth.

(18.) *Skirmish before Rouen.* The Journal here breaks off just before the memorable skirmish in which Walter Devereux was slain. The omission may be briefly supplied by pursuing the narrative of sir Robert Cary: "The second night we lodged at a great village-town called Pavillie, where finding great store of victuall, and all things necessary for the relief of the souldiers, it was resolved that we should stay there for four or five dayes. In which time, to shew Villiers how little we esteemed him and his forces, in a morning betimes both foote and horse marched some five miles off, only in a bravado, to see whether Villiers or any of his troopes in the towne durst come come out and skirmish with us: but there unfortunately we lost mr. Walter Devereux, my lord's only brother, with a shott in the head, and so we retourned that night to Pavillie, the whole army being full of sorrow for the losse of so worthy a gentleman.

"The next night after, the towne fell on fire, and in lesse than an hour it was all burnt to the ground, so that wee had much adoe to get our troopes and carriages safe out of the towne.

"In four days after wee came to Arques, when our horse and foot rested a good space and refreshed themselves, till it was resolved that my lord and his troopes only should go to besiege Gournye, which was some fortnight after." Memoirs of Robert Cary, earl of Monmouth.

(19.) *Siege of Gournai.* When the journalist resumes his story in October, he was attending on the earl of Essex at the siege of Gournai. Among sir Henry Unton's papers is a letter to queen Elizabeth, signed Hacqueville, dated "Du camp devant Gournay ce 4e. Octobre 1591," in which he says, "Monseigneur le comte d'Essex est icy au siege de Gournay, lequel se porte tresbien, comme aussy toutes les troppes que luy avez baillées, avec lesquelles il faict tresbien, comme un tresgalland seigneur et cavalier qu'il est." The writer proceeds to beg the queen to send another aid of 2,000 men. (MS. Cotton. Calig. E. VIII. f. 81*.) It is the same letter that is printed in Rymer's Fœdera, xvi. 124, but with nearly as many errors as lines. The earl of Essex's conduct at this siege receives equal commendation in sir Henry Unton's letter of the 27th Sept. to lord Burghley; he writes: "Wee dayly expect her majesties pleasure and your lordship's awnswere of our letters for the stay of my lord generall, who in this siege of Gournay hath conducted him-

* Printed *Arques* in the Memoirs, but clearly in error.

selfe with extraordinary paynefullnes, watchinges, and with such trew valour and discretion as did incourage his soldyers greatly and gaigne him greate reputation with the marshall [Biron] and the rest of the French, wherfor hee can heare hardly bee sparede." MS. Cotton. Calig. E. VIII. fol. 440 v.

(20.) *Mr. Francis Darcy.* He was the seventh son of sir Arthur Darcy, and grandson of Thomas lord Darcy, K.G. He was knighted in 1591, probably during this campaign. He had a house at Isleworth, co. Middlesex, and in the church there remains a monument, with kneeling effigies of sir Francis, in armour, and of his wife. He was buried Nov. 29, 1641.—See Aungier's Isleworth, p. 146.

(21.) *News of our return.* Whilst the earl of Essex lay before Gournai, says sir Robert Cary, "there came letters out of England, to command him presently to repaire for England, and to leave his charge with sir Thomas Layton. He presently dispatched sir Francis Darcy to desire longer stay, and let the queen know that the king intended shortly to besiege Roan, and what a dishonour it would be for ever to him, if he should leave him at such a time." But sir Francis was now "sent back with a streight commaund for my lord to retourne, as he would answer it at his utmost perill, with commission for sir Thomas Layton to execute the place." (Memoirs of the earl of Monmouth, pp. 32, 34). Our journalist seems to have expected that the troops were recalled with the earl of Essex, or else that he should himself have to accompany him.

(22.) *Monsieur Allard de Montmorency.* The real name of this person was Francois de Montmorenci d'Hallot. Sully notices his being wounded at the siege of Rouen, as related in p. 53. He was assassinated shortly after by the marquis d'Allegre.

(23.) *Marquis de Allegre.* Sully states that the marquis of Allegre was the person who seized Rouen for the league in 1590. He is represented as performing a different part in these pages: and our author calls him "a great friend of mine," (p. 60,) having previously visited him at his castle of Blendville (p. 49). Christopher marquis of Allegre was in 1591 guilty of the assassination of François de Montmorenci d'Hallot. Were there two of the name?

(24.) *Lord Audley.* Henry Touchet, lord Audley. He had served with the earl of Leycester in the Netherlands. He was the father of George the first earl of Castlehaven.

(25.) *Sir John Wingfield.* Sir John Wingfield was the son of Richard, fifth son of Sir John Wingfield, of Letheringham, Suffolk, by Elizabeth Vere, sister and coheir to John 14th earl of Oxford. He was knighted in 1586, and walked at sir Philip Sydney's funeral in that year, as one of the "twelve knights of his kindred and friends." He was quartermaster-general in the Cadiz expedition, 1596, and was the only Englishman of note slain on that occasion; his body being honourably interred in the principal church. (Camden's Annals.) His cousin sir Richard Wingfield, afterwards the first viscount Powerscourt, was at the present time lieut.-colonel in sir John Norris's army in Britany.

(26.) *Sir Thomas Baskerville* was knighted in 1588. He had been one of the four colonels of the army sent to assist the king of Navarre, under Peregrine lord Willoughby, in 1589.

(27.) *Twenty-four knights.* The only list (unmixed with those made at other times) which the Editor has been able to find of these knights, either at the British Museum or the College of Arms, is the following. It contains only twenty-two names.

" Knights made by Robert Erle of Essex before Roane 1591:

Sir Charles Percy.*	Sir Thomas Fairfax.‡
Sir William Brooke.†	Sir Nicholas Clifford.
Sir Thomas Conisbye.	Sir [Edmond] Yorke.
Sir Thomas Gerrard.	Sir Robert Drury.
Sir John Tracy.	Sir Thomas Jermyn.
Sir John Wootton.	Sir William Woodhowse.
Sir Richard Acton.	Sir William Dawtery.
Sir Henry Jones.	Sir Griffin Markham.
Sir Francis Allyn.	Sir Henry Danvers.
Sir Edward Yorke.	Sir Edward Hastinges.
Sir Matthew Morgan.	Sir Ferdinando Gorge."

(*MS. Harl.* 6063, *art.* 26.)

Besides these the earl of Essex made several other knights during the campaign ; as Francis Darcy (see p. 70), sir Robert Cary (see p. 74), sir Walter Harcourt (p. 79), sir Henry Power (p. 77), and probably more.

Camden says of the lord general's prodigality in this respect, that he thus incurred the risk of discontenting some who had obtained that honour before they set out from home, and might perhaps think that he cheapened the dignity, which had hitherto been in great esteem among the English, and which the queen had conferred only on a very few persons, and those of distinguished character and good family. A letter of Lord Burghley, addressed to the earl on the 22nd Oct. thus alludes to this matter :—" Your lordship's so liberall bestowing of knighthoods is here commonly evil censured, and when her majesty shall know it, which yet she doth not, I fear she will be highly offended, consider-

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* Sir Charles Percy was a younger brother of the Earl of Northumberland. He engaged in the wars of the Low Countries and of Ireland ; and, as a friend of the earl of Essex, was implicated in his rebellion, and had a pardon 44 Eliz. On the death of the queen he was one of the messengers sent by the privy council to announce that event to king James in Scotland. He died in 1628, s. p.

† Sir William Brooke was the second son of William lord Cobham. He was born Dec. 11, 1565, and had for his sponsors in baptism Cecilia daughter of the king of Sweden, Thomas duke of Norfolk, and William lord Howard of Effingham, then lord chamberlain. Collectanea Topog. et Geneal. vol. vii. p. 353.

‡ Afterwards the first lord Fairfax, 1627, died 1640.

ing she would have had that authority left out of your commission, if I had not supplied it with a cautelous instruction. But *quod factum est, infectum esse non potest;* and, secondly, hereby you have increased your state of ladyes present and future." (Murdin's Cecill Papers, p. 648.) Elizabeth was notoriously sparing of her honours, and on this occasion she is said to have remarked that "his lordship had done well to have built his almshouses before he had made his knights,"—in allusion, it may be presumed, to the Poor Knights of Windsor; or perhaps to the hospital for decayed soldiers which Essex's step-father, the earl of Leycester, had founded at Warwick. In making knights, however, the lord general followed the precedent, not only of former times, but of the earl of Leycester in the Low Countries; and he was not deterred from making many more in his expedition to Cadiz and in Ireland. On the former of these occasions the list amounts to sixty-five names; and some of them, we may suppose, would afterwards become candidates for such an asylum as the queen is said to have contemplated, if we may credit the old rhyme,

A knight of Cales, a shentleman of Wales, and a laird of the North Countree,
A yeoman of Kent, with his yearly rent, will weigh them down all three.

(28.) *Oliver St. John.* This young nobleman, who, though now only a cornet to the earl of Essex, is commended by our author as "a brave, discreet, and honest man," (see p. 48,) was afterwards highly distinguished by his services in Ireland; where, after filling other posts, he was made lord deputy in 1616, and high treasurer in 1625. He was created baron Tregoze of Highworth, co. Wilts, in 1626, and died s. p. in 1630. His elder brother sir John St. John of Lydiard Tregoze was ancestor of the Viscounts Bolingbroke.

(29.) *This day mr. Cary came out of England, who broughte most comfortable newes; but our generall was goon before.* Upon the surrender of the town of Gournai, which happened on the 26th or 27th Sept. the earl of Essex determined to send a special messenger to the queen, hoping the good news might alter her intentions. The person selected to execute this mission was mr. Robert Cary, who carried with him a letter from sir Henry Unton to the lord treasurer, which contained the following testimony to his merits, in reference to the siege of Gournai: "This gentleman mr. Carew (so the ambassador wrote the name) was very forward to goe to the assaulte, and with very greate resolution ready to marche towardes the breache. He is a gentleman of very greate hope and forwardnes." (MS. Cotton. Calig. E. VIII. fol. 440, v.) Before mr. Cary arrived at the court, sir Francis Darcy was already departed, with the message that has been already stated. Cary describes his audience with the queen, which was conducted with all her characteristic impetuosity. "She presently burst into a great rage against my lord, and vowed she would make him an example to all the world, if he presently left not his charge, and retourned upon sir Francis Darcy's coming to him." After hearing mr. Cary's discourse (which he details at some length) she still "seemed to be something offended, and bade me to my dinner;" but the captain had scarce made an end thereof, before he was sent for again, when "she delivered me a letter, written with her own hand

to my lord, and bade me tell him, that if there were any thing in it that did please him, he should give me thankes for it. I humbly kiss'd her hand, and said to her, I hoped there was in it that which would make him of the most dejected man living a new creature, rejoicing in nothing so much as that he had to serve so worthy and so gracious a mistresse." Mr. Cary took post horse the same afternoon, congratulating himself that he had procured from the queen "that which all my lord's friends in court, nor all her counsaile, could procure." In consequence, however, of the queen's message by sir Francis Darcy, the earl had not ventured to await the return of mr. Cary, and the latter arrived at Dieppe in less than two hours after the earl had sailed, so that "they all wondered that I miss'd him."

(30.) *A muster.* The letter addressed by lord Burghley to the earl of Essex on the 22nd Oct. commences with the following passage, which notices the great loss by desertion and otherwise which had taken place in the English army, and particularly refers to the muster taken by our Author on the 13th Oct. mentioning him by name as having made a return to the government at home: "My very good lord, Your last letters brought unto me are of the 18th of this month, being the day after your arrivall, whereby I perceive that, by reason of your absence, coming from thence, such numbers of footmen are coming away, as you find there upon report but 2000 footmen, and eighty horse of your own, and eighty of other gentlemen. If any horseman be lacking of your former numbers by their coming hither, I hope they will return to seek their generall, but dare not affirm so for the footmen. It were well done that the muster-masters would particularly set down the numbers of such as be missing now in every band, besides such as remain there in France in places, known to be sick, so as it might be here known, if her majesty would supply the numbers, to which of the captains they might be sent, and so distributed.

"In a breviatt of the musters sent from mr. Coningsby, taken at Arques the 13th, it seemeth there are of every band some sick, some at Diepe, some at Arques, and some at Gournaie, of which there may be hope by their recovery to come to the service of the bandes; but for such as be sick further off, as at Noyon, St. Denis, and other places far of, left by sir Roger Williams, I doubt of their recovery, and yet I doubt not but pay is asked for them. For the others, that are come into England, or for such as have been slain, I think it were reasonable the pay for them might be spared, specially considering what large allowances the captains have for their dead pays." Murdin's Cecill Papers, p. 647.

(31.) *Sir Thomas Leighton,* who had been knighted in 1579, and who was now chief in command during the earl of Essex's absence, had been sent ambassador about 1577 to the States of the Netherlands, and then to don John of Austria. (Memoirs of Robert Cary, earl of Monmouth, p. 36.) He was captain of Guernsey at this time. As an officer of experience he was "sente by her Majestie to assiste the earle of Essex, generall of her troupe afore Roan, with his councelle and service, as welle for the preservation of the said earle in good estate as for the advancement of the service committed to his charge;" and "a memorialle" containing his instructions on the occasion will be found

in MS. Cotton. Calig. E. VIII. f. 89. He was not sent, however, before the beginning of September. (Lord Burghley's Diary.) There is a letter of the queen to the earl of Essex, dated the 4th Oct. in which she expresses her anger that sir Roger Williams had " presumed, in an audatious and foolish manner," to commend the first action before Rouen, and desiring the general, in consequence, to prefer in future the advice of Sir Thomas Leighton. (Murdin's Cecill Papers, p. 644.)

(32.) *Our generall retorned againe from England, contrarie to the generall expectation of the moste.* The earl of Essex had made a brief but successful visit to the queen. "At my lord's coming to court, whereas he expected nothing but her majesties heavy displeasure, he found it cleane contrary, for she used him with that grace and favour, that he stayed a week with her, passing the time in jollity and feasting; and then with teares in her eyes, she shewed her affection to him, and for the repaire of his honour gave him leave to retourne to his charge againe. He made all the haste he could to Deepe. As soon as he saw me he drew his rapier, and came running to me, and laid it on my shoulder, and streightly embraced mee, and said to mee, when he had need of one to plead for him, he would never use any other oratour than myselfe. I delivered him the queen's letter; then he said, Worthy cousin, I know by herself how you prevailed with her, and what a true friend I had of you, which I shall never forgett." (Memoirs.) Sir Robert Cary, who thus received his first exaltation in rank, was the fourth and youngest son of Henry first lord Hunsdon, and was the earl's cousin once removed through his aunt Katharine Cary, wife of sir Francis Knollys, K.G. and mother of Lettice countess of Essex and Leicester. Before attaining to his knightly dignity, sir Robert Cary had been one of the captains employed against the armada in 1588, and had also held the post of deputy-warden of the East March towards Scotland. He was afterwards master of the robes to Charles duke of York, chamberlain to Charles when prince of Wales; created lord Cary of Leppington in 1622-3, and earl of Monmouth in 1625-6; and died 1639. His very interesting autobiographical memoirs were edited in 8vo. 1759, by the earl of Corke and Orrery.

(33.) *Sir Harry Danvers.* Afterwards the first earl of Danby (1625-6), K.G. and the founder of the Phisick Garden at Oxford; born 1573, died 1643. "He was partly bred up in the Low-Country wars, under Maurice E. of Nassau (afterwards Prince of Orange) and in many other military actions of those times, both by sea and land. He was made a captain in the wars of France, and there knighted for his good service under Henry the Fourth, the French king." Epitaph at Dauntsey, Wilts, of which the remainder will be found in Dugdale, Baronage, ii. 417.

(34.) *Banquet given by monsieur d'O.* Francois d'O, sieur de Fresnes, Maillebois, &c. who had been master of the wardrobe to Henry III., was superintendent of the finances to Henri IV. Our journalist's account of his festivities is strikingly confirmed by the following passage in the Journal de l'Etoile, Ann. 1594, p. 37; "He surpassed kings and princes in extravagance and prodigality; for, even to his suppers, he had pies made up of

musk and amber served up, that amounted to twenty-five crowns." Sully says of the same person, "His disposition, naturally leaning towards profusion, indolency, and voluptuousness, had been wholly ruined by all those vices for which the court of Henri III. was famous,—deep play, unbounded debauchery, expensive follies, domestic disorders, and extravagances of every kind."

(35.) *Mount de Mallades.* This 29th of October was the day on which the city of Rouen was first seriously attacked. Sir Robert Cary's account may be quoted, as being more clearly stated than our journalist's, both with reference to the position of the forces and the order of events. "My lord's quarter was allotted to be at Mount Malade, the town lying under us not full a quarter of an English mile. The king, with his horse and foot, tooke for his quarter the towne of Daringtall (Darnetal). Between the king and my lord lay the Switzers, upon another hill. Upon the right hand of my lord lay Montmorancie,* close to the towne on low ground. The rest of the king's army, as well on the side wee lay on as on the other side of the water, were dispersed in diverse partes. Monsieur de Roulet (governour of Pont-large) with his troopes were lodged on the other side of the water. The rest of the commanders, and the names of the places they lay in, I do not well remember; but sure I am my lord came to his quarter by five o'clocke in the morninge, and the whole towne was roundly besieged before eleven of the clocke.

"But Villiers, governour of Roan, did that day show himself to be a brave soldier, and a great commander. He brought out his troopes both of horse and foote, and there was not a quarter in the whole army but what was bravely assaulted and fought withall by them that day. The king's quarter was not exempted; but they did so furiously assault Montmorancies quarter, that, had not my lord of Essex sent his horse to relieve him, he had been driven out of his quarter with great dishonour. Towards three in the afternoone they had shewn their worth and valour in all places. They came up towards my lord's quarters. We were ready to entertain them, and wee held skirmish at the least two hours, and, after some killed and hurt on both sides, they fairly retired into the towne, and we to our lodging; and so ended that day's sport." Cary afterwards adds, "They had a spleene to no quarter so much as to Montmorancies. The reason was for that he had begged of the king the gouverment of the towne, if it had beene taken either by agreement or by assault."

(36.) *Sir Francis Allen.* One of the recently dubbed knights. At the assault of Sluys, in 1587, "captain Francis Alene swam in with captain Hart after the breach was made: during his time none shewed greater valour." Sir Roger Williams on Warre, p. 53.

(37.) *Villiers, the governor.* André de Brancas marquis of Villars, and admiral of

* The noble editor of the Earl of Monmouth's Memoirs has here appended a note, erroneously identifying the person mentioned with Charles de Montmorenci, afterwards admiral of France.

France, had been governor of Havre de Grace, and was appointed lieutenant-governor of Normandy for the League by the duke of Mayenne, who had nominated his own son Henry of Lorraine to be governor of the province. (Chronologie Novenaire, 12mo. 1608, p. 500.) Sully, who during the siege of Rouen negociated with Villars for a peace, gives him the highest character both for courage and integrity. Having been reconciled to Henri IV. he was killed by the Spaniards before Dourlens in 1595.

(38.) *Count of Soissons.* Charles of Bourbon, son of Louis prince of Condé. He died in 1612.

(39.) *The earl of Essex's challenge to the chevalier Picard.* The French account of this affair agrees remarkably closely with that of our journalist:—

"Villars qui desiroit se faire signaler par ce siege (sur quelques lettres qu' avoit escrit le comte d'Essex au chevalier Picard, portant 'Que hors mis la cause qu' il soustenoit il luy estoit amy, pour l'avoir cogneu avec monsieur de Marchemont en Angleterre, mais qu'en ceste guerre il seroit tres-ayse, de le trouver à la teste de son regiment la picque au poing,') manda pour responce au comte d'Essex, 'Qu'il trouveroit tousjours prest le chevalier Picard pour luy en faire passer l'envie seul à seul, où avec tel nombre qu' il seroit arresté, et qu'ils s'offroit de faire ceste partie pour luy.' A laquelle offre, le comte d'Essex respondit, 'Quant est de vostre offre de faire une partie pour moy, je responds, que j'ay commandement d'une armée en laquelle se trouvent beaucoup de la qualité du chevalier Picard, et suis Lieutenant d'un souverain absolu. Mais si vous voulez combattre vous-mesmes à cheval ou à pied, armé ou en pourpoint, je maintiendray que la querelle du Roy est plus juste que celle de la Ligue: que je suis meilleur de vous, et que ma maistresse est plus belle que la vostre. Que si vous refusez de venir seul, je meneray avec moy vingt, le pire desquels sera une partie digne d'un Colonel, ou soixante le moindre estant Capitaine. Signé, Essex.'

"A ceste lettre le sieur de Villars respondit, 'Pour venir à l'article de vostre lettre, par laquelle vous me desfiez au combat, vous scavez assez qu'il n'est en ma puissance de l'accepter pour le present, et que la charge où je suis employé, m'oste la liberté de pouvoir particulièrement disposer de moy. Mais lors que monsieur le duc de Mayenne sera par decà, je l'accepte tres-voluntiers, et vous combatray à cheval avec armes accoustumées aux gentils-hommes: ne voulant cependant faillir de respondre à la conclusion de vostre dite lettre, par laquelle vous voulez maintenir que vous estes meilleur que moy: sur quoy je vous diray que vous en avez menty, et mentirez toutes les fois que vous le voudrez maintenir, aussi bien que vous mentirez lors que vous voudrez dire que la querelle que je soustiens pour la deffence de ma religion ne soit meilleure que de ceux qui s'esforcent de la destruire. Et quand à la comparison de vostre maistresse à la mienne, je veux croire que vous n'estes non plus veritable en cet article, qu'aux deux autres: Toutesfois ce n'est pas chose qui me travaille fort pour le present. Signé, Villars.'

"Ces lettres coururent de main et main en ce temps là; sur lesquelles plusieurs firent divers jugements solon l'affection des partes qu'ils tenoient: on remarquoit en l'une le naturel ancien des vieux chevaliers Anglois, qui couroient le monde pour maintenir la

beauté de leurs maistresses : et en l'autre, un dementy donné promptement, pour lequel maintenir on s'excusoit sur l'absence de monsieur de Mayenne. Aussi toutes ces choses ne furent que des paroles." *Chronologie Novenaire*, by Cayet, vol. ii. f. 502 v.

The tribute here paid to English knight-errantry is remarkable. It was not many months after that the English ambassador, sir Henry Unton, challenged the young duke of Guise, in defence of the reputation of his queen. The particulars of this incident, which is noticed by many authors, will be found in The Unton Inventories, p. lv.

(40.) *Captain Power.* There seem to have been two captains of this name in the army: for on the 30th Nov. we find that whilst "captain Henry Powre" had been engaged in a skirmish in the morning (p. 52), "the Ireland captain Powre" returned during the day, after having been six days absent on a foraging party." (p. 53.) Captain Henry Power, who was an Irishman, and afterwards a peer of Ireland, was lieutenant-colonel of sir Robert Cary's regiment (see the Introduction, p. 9). He was knighted during the campaign. By patent, dated March 1, 1619-20, he was advanced to the dignity of viscount Valentia. He died in 1642 ; when his kinsman sir Francis Annesley succeeded to the peerage, it having been enlarged to him by a second patent. The banner of Ireland was borne by the viscount Grandison and the viscount Valentia at the funeral of king James I. in 1625.

(41.) *Sir Edmund Yorke.* "In the moneth of February (1591-2) sir Edmonde Yorke, knight, conducted over into France five thousand footemen well appoynted, sent from hence for service of the French kinge, which upon their arrivall remained under the charge of sir Roger Williams, being then generall of the English Companies there." So it is stated in Stowe's Chronicle ; but from Lord Burghley's diary it would appear the number was exaggerated. He says, "1600 new men sent into Normandy, conducted by sir Edward Yorke." There were both sir Edmund and sir Edward (see p. 71), but the former, it seems most probable, was the commander.

(42.) *Sir Philip Butler.* This appears to have been the son and heir apparent of sir Philip Boteler, of Watton Woodville, co. Hertford, by Anne, sister to sir Henry Coningsby of North Mimms in the same county. He was knighted in 1586, and went the Portugal voyage in 1589. He died on the 27th January 1591-2 (probably therefore a victim to this campaign), when his body was buried at Watton. He had married Katharine dowager lady Offaley, daughter of sir Francis Knollys, K.G. and mother of Lettice created baroness of Offaley, the wife of sir Robert Digby of Coleshill. By that lady he left four sons and a daughter : see the pedigree in Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, ii. 477.

(43.) *Sir William Sackville* was the third son of Thomas lord Buckhurst, K.G. (afterwards the first earl of Dorset,) and had been knighted by Henri IV. in October 1589, at the age of nineteen. (Milles's Catalogue of Honour.) He lost his life during the present campaign. (Family Pedigree by Segar, &c. 1623.)

(44.) *My lord ambassador.* This was sir Henry Unton, who was sent by queen Elizabeth to reside as ambassador with the French king, in July 1591, as mentioned in the Introduction.

(45.) *Sir Henry Killigrew.* Nothing can show more strikingly the sparing hand with which Elizabeth doled out even the honour of knighthood at home, than the number of eminent men who received that grade in the present episode of their history. Sir Robert Cary and Sir Henry Killigrew had both served as ambassadors to Scotland, but the credit of conferring upon them this well-merited distinction was reserved in the one case for the earl of Essex, and in the other for Henri IV. Mr. Killigrew was sent ambassador to Scotland in 1573. (Lodge's Illustrations, ii. 75.) He was "appointed to attend the earl of Essex in France" August 4, 1591. (Lord Burghley's Diary.) He had married Katharine, one of the accomplished daughters of sir Anthony Cooke, and sister to lady Burghley. When Carew wrote his Survey of Cornwall, in 1602, sir Henry Killigrew was still living, and "after ambassades and messages, and many other profitable employments of peace and warre, in his prince's service, to the good of his country, hath made choyce of a retyred estate, and, reverently regarded by all sorts, placeth his principal contentment in himselfe, which, to a life so well acted, can no way bee wanting."

(46.) *Took his journey.* The earl of Essex made another flying voyage to England. On the 23d Nov., as lord Burghley has recorded in his diary, he "came to Westminster unlooked for. Dec. 5. The erle of Essex returned to Normandy. 7. Took* shipp at (*blank*) for Depe."

(47.) *The generall of the Allmayne forces.* This was the prince Christian of Anhalt. (MS. Cotton. Calig. E. VIII. f. 56, v.) Two letters which queen Elizabeth addressed to him at this time, dated at Richmond, Oct. 22, 1591, and at Westminster, Dec. 3, are printed in Rymer, xvi. 130, 138. In the second of these she acknowleges a letter which the prince had addressed to the queen, dated from the camp before Rouen on the 24th of the preceding month, relating the communications he had made with her majesty's ambassador. That letter, therefore, was written only two days after the feasting recorded by our journalist. Sir Henry Unton's papers in the Cottonian volume are very much disarranged, and the Editor has not been able to find any dispatch of this date, which might have furnished the ambassador's own report of his interview with the German general.

(48.) *The Cardinal Bourbon.* Charles son of Louis prince of Condé, and brother to the count of Soissons. He was archbishop of Rouen, and abbé of St. Ouen and St. Catharine at Rouen, as well as of St. Denis and St. Germain des Prés near Paris, of Orcamp, &c. He died at an early age, July 28, 1594.

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* *Misprinted* Sold *by Murdin.*

(49.) *Prince of Parma.* Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, was made governor of the Low Countries in 1578, and died at Arras in Artois, Nov. 12, 1592. Sir Roger Williams says in his Discourse of Warre, 1590, "This armie of the prince of Parma hath bene in action unbroken since Charles the Fift his troubles against the Germaines. They have continued in the Low Countreyes three and twentie yeares."

(50.) *Sir Thomas Gerrard.* Afterwards, it is believed, the first baronet, so created in 1611. The Gerards were a very wealthy Roman Catholic family, and are still existing.

(51.) *Sir Richard Acton.* The Editor has taken considerable trouble to ascertain the family connections of this gallant knight, in the hope they might lead to the identification of the Author, who calls him cousin. The search has been rewarded with no further success than finding that he was the son of Charles Acton esquire, to whom administration of his property was granted by the prerogative court of Canterbury: "Ricardi Acton nuper servientis serenissimæ Reginæ militis, et in partibus transmarinis decedentis."

(52.) *The disease of the camp, which is a pestilent ague.* This disease, which killed sir Richard Acton, did not spare high or low. The earl of Essex himself had an attack, and so had the ambassador sir Henry Unton, and the latter afterwards died of the same disorder, when again ambassador lieger in France in 1596.

(53.) *Gisors.* Sully claims for himself the merit of taking Gisors from the enemy "by means of correspondence which a gentleman in my company, named Fourges, carried on with his father, who was in the place." Sully was mortified that the king did not bestow the government of the town upon him, but choose a Catholic in preference, whose name however he does not mention. He was probably this Flavencourt, whom the king now removed (pp. 60, 62).

(54.) *Mr. Harcott.* This was sir Walter Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, knighted by the earl of Essex before Rouen (misprinted *Rome* in Brydges's edition of Collins's Peerage, iv. 440).

(55). *Monsieur Grinion.* The person meant here and in p. 35 was Jacques Berton de Crillon, or Grillon. Sully mentions his arm being broken, but erroneously supposed it was in the great sally which Villars made from Rouen (see p. 81).

(56.) *Capture of the sieur du Rollet.* The circumstances of this occurrence are related by Cayet, Chronologie Novenaire, iv. 14. He had been practising with Langonne, lieutenant of the castle at the end of the bridge of Rouen, for admission into the same, and meeting that officer by appointment, unaccompanied, was seized by an ambush of fifteen soldiers concealed in some of the ruined houses.

(57.) *The chevalier Picard.* The lively sallies of this gallant chevalier, in which our

Journalist appears to have taken such interest, were shortly after terminated by his death. Being at the old fort on the 2d Feb. he was struck on the thigh with a cannon-ball, and died four days after, notwithstanding the utmost care of the famous surgeon Bailleul. He was buried in the abbey of St. Catharine. Chronol. Novenaire, iv. 18.

(58.) *Knights of the Holy Ghost.* "Le premier jour de l'an, la solemnité de l'ordre du Sainct Esprit se fit dans l'eglise de Dernetail ; là où, par le commandement du roy, monsieur le mareschal de Biron, comme le plus ancien des chevaliers qui se trouva en ceste ceremonie, donna l'ordre a monsieur l'archevesque de Bourges, et à monsieur de Biron son fils." Ibid. fol. 15, v.

(59.) *The trenches.* The principal notice that Sully in his Memoirs takes of the English at the siege of Rouen, is with reference to the assistance they afforded when the king attacked a great trench which Villars had thrown out from the castle of St. Catharine. "As this new work was extended far into the country, and as it not only disordered the besiegers in their attacks upon the castle, but also exposed them to be fallen upon in the rear, while at the same time they had the garrison from within in front, the king resolved to seize it, and render it useless to the enemy. For this purpose he made choice of the night when it was his turn to watch at the trench with his three hundred gentlemen, whom he commanded to be completely armed, and to have, besides their usual arms, halberts in their hands, and pistols at their girdles ; and to this troop added four hundred musketeers. It was at midnight, and amidst the extreme cold of December, that we attacked this trench in different places. The action, which was very obstinate, continued half an hour with equal animosity on both sides. We used our utmost endeavours to gain the brink, and the besieged repulsed us several times. I was twice thrown to the ground, my halbert broke, and my armour loosened or broken in pieces. Marignan, [his secretary,] whom I had obtained permission to keep near me, raised me, put my armour again in order, and gave me his halbert. The trench was at last carried by main force, and we cleared it of more than fifty dead or dying enemies, whom we threw from the top of the hill. This trench was open to the cannon of the fort; but the king had the precaution to order some gabions, hogsheads, and pieces of wood to be brought there, which covered the English, to whom he committed the guard of it. [This agrees with what our journalist states in pp. 64 and 65.]

"Villars did not expect to have seen his outworks carried in so short a time. When he was told it, and that it was the king himself who had conducted the enterprise, 'By heavens!' said he, 'this prince deserves a thousand crowns for his valour. I am sorry that, by a better religion, he does not inspire us with as strong an inclination to gain him new ones as to detain him from his own ; but it shall never be said, that I have failed to attempt in my own person what a great king has performed in his.' In effect, he put himself at the head of four hundred men, armed as he had been told the king's were, and, taking also eight hundred musketeers selected out of his whole number, he attacked the English and dislodged them from the trench.

"The king, piqued with the vanity of Villars, and resolving not to let go his hold, pre-

pared for a second attempt. The English, apprehending reproaches, which they certainly had not deserved, intreated the king to put a hundred English gentlemen in his troop, and to suffer all the foot, who were to attend him on this occasion, to be English likewise. They also demanded leave to sustain the first effort of the enemy, and behaved so bravely, that the trench was a second time regained: they afterwards maintained themselves in it, and took away from the besieged all inclination to approach it for the future. By this obstinate struggle for a trench only, it is easy to judge of the event of a siege, of which this attack was only the beginning."

Some days after, according to Sully, (but he keeps no dates,) "Villars made a sally at the head of a hundred horse, with whom he overthrew the guard; and would have been the cause of much greater confusion, if the king, armed only with a cuirass, had not ran thither, followed by the baron de Biron, an English officer (whose name I have forgot), Grillon, and some others who were about him: these three gentlemen especially gained immortal glory there. Grillon's arm was broke by a shot from an arquebuse. As for the king, having precipitated himself into a danger somewhat like that which is related of Alexander the Great in the city of the Oxydracæ, he extricated himself out of it with equal presence of mind, and equal intrepidity. If this, which is only an example, has all the appearance of a fable, Henry's action had two whole armies to be witnesses of it."

The reader will regret that Sully did not remember the name of the valiant English officer, and altogether his arrangement of events seems not very accurate. It is not, at least, easy to adjust the details now quoted, commencing in "the extreme cold of December," with those of our Journal; and there is little doubt that he misrecollected the occasion of monsieur Grillon's wound, which (as already shown) happened on the 16th of December.

INDEX.

London: J. B. Nichols and Son, Printers, 25, Parliament-street.

LETTER FROM

GEORGE FLEETWOOD TO HIS FATHER,

GIVING AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

BATTLE OF LUTZEN

AND

THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

EDITED BY

SIR PHILIP DE MALPAS GREY EGERTON, BART.
M.P., F.R.S., V.P.G.S.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XLVII.

INTRODUCTION.

This Letter was found a year or two ago, in a box of discarded papers, at Oulton Park, with the Grey Manuscript now in the press for the Camden Society. The author, George Fleetwood, was son of Sir William Fleetwood, of Cranford, in Middlesex, knight, Receiver of the Court of Wards, and brother of Sir William Fleetwood, Cupbearer to James the First and Charles the First, and Comptroller of Woodstock Park. He went into Sweden, was a famous general there, and was created a Baron. He had a son named Gustavus, who inherited his Swedish honours. His uncle, Sir George Fleetwood, married Catharine Denny, niece to Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, the author of the Grey Manuscript. * It is possible that this family connection may account for the circumstance of the two manuscripts being found together. The Fleetwood letter is clearly a copy; but, as I have been unable to discover that the original is extant, or has ever appeared in print, the subject-matter will not fail in interest, coming, as it does, from an eye-witness of the events he describes. The character of the writing testifies that the copy cannot be of much more recent date than the original; but that it is not in the handwriting of the author is evident from the occurrence of occasional blanks where the original was either defective or illegible. The history of the times and occurrences to which it relates is so well known, that notes have been deemed unnecessary.

* Betham's Baronetage, vol. i. p. 122.

LETTER, &c.

Sir,

I am this farr, God be thanked, safely retorned from a longe and a tedious journey, and cold wish it had pleased God all thinges had bene as succesfull to us as my journey hath bene to mee; then I am confident my retorne had not bene soe sudden nor soe mallancholly. I mett the Kinge and the Chancellour both at Arnstat in Duringeland the 26 October, still. vet.; but the Chancellour being the next day to retorne back for the ordering of affares towardes Bavaria and the Palatinate, took mee with him the first nightes journey to Almaine, where hee presentlie gave mee my dispatch, with lettres to the Kinge in all poyntes that I desired, with soe great manifestation of his affection that I cold not have expected the like, and gave mee assurance that whilst he lyved he wold be my patron, being very ioyfull at the good report which hee hath heard of my regiment from everie one. The Kinge, upon the first delyverie of my lettres, gave mee command to cause the secretaries to write whatsoever I pleased, graunteing all my desires: as that my regiment shold come out in the springe to his army, and that I shold rayse foure companies more to make my regiment a compleat brigade; and dyvers other thinges hee graunted. But thys unfortunate losse of our noble master was so sodayne that I cold not gett his lettres; and, not knoweing how thinges might alter in this distraction, I am by post retyreing to my regiment, for I beleeve wee shall have action inough in Sprutia. I have sent by post to the Chancellour, from whom I doubt not but to have satisfaction in all my desires, and in his handes (I beleeve) the manageing of their affares will mainely depend. I have slipped some opportunitye of writeing, not being willing to

bee the first messenger of soe ill newes; but before this lettre will arryve at your handes, I doubt not but yow will have sure intelligence, wherfore I thought fitting to inform you of all occurrantes since my being with the army.

The Kinge, when he lay at Nyrenberge, perceaveing he cold by noe meanes provoke Walston out of his trenches, he marched with flying cullers and drummes, beating round about the enimies leager; and then devideing his army hee gave the halfe to duke Bernerd of Weimar, sendeing him to Swyneford to march upon Walston, and with the other halfe he marched himself to Nyburghe, three myles from Inglestat, in Bavaria, intending to make that the seat of warr; but Walston, contrarie to his expectation, took his march presently to Voitland, and soe through Meisen directlie upon Lipsicke, sendeing Hulk and Myrodo before with 15 thousand men, whoo burnt and plundered all Meisen. On the other side Papenham, with about eight thousand men from the Wester Streame, took his march within three myles of Erforde, directly upon Lypsick, where Walston, Popenham, Hulk, and Myrodo ioyned all theire forces together, being in all about thirtie-six thousand stronge. The brave Governour of Lypsicke, skilfull in betraying townes (being the same man that last gave it upp the same day the battayle was fought at Lypsick), did the like now both with towne and castle the next day the enimie came before it. The Kinge was at Nyburge when he received first intelligence of Walston's marching for Mysen, wherupon hee ymediatly gave 15 thousand men under the command of Paulsgrave Brokenfeild, to goo against the Duke of Bavaria. And, commanding the reare of his army to follow him, he rode post himself to Hertike Bernerd's army, with which hee day and night marched through Duringer Walde (feareing the enimies fortefying the woodes against him) and never rested till hee came to Arnstat, where hee lay still aboute 6 or 8 daies, till his owne army and ordinance came upp; and the next day the army came together, being the 28th of October, he marched directly to Nareinberge, where we lay still

about six daies. The Kinges whole army consisted of about 18 thousand reall men; the enimie then lay at Wysenfeild, two myles from us. The Kinge sent dailie postes to the Duke of Saxon to have his army, and the Duke of Lunnburghes, consisting of about 12 or 14 thowsand, presently to come to him.

Upon the 3. and 4. of November the enimie marched from Wysenfeild towards Lypsick, and the 5th the Kinge broke upp to followe them; and that morneing, insteede of the Duke of Saxon's ioyneing with him, hee receaved lettres that then theire armies weare first to ioyne at Maydenburgh, at which the Kinge was infinitely discontented, saying, hee sawe the Princes of Germany cared not what hee commanded, but did the contrary, but they should see hee durst fight with the enimie, though they weare twice his strength, and with that commanded presently to march. At that day wee beat about 500 horse, taking dyvers of theire cullours; and there the Kinge was informed by the prysoners that Popenam should bee marched with his army to Hall, Hulk to Lypsick, and Myrodo to another place; and that only Walston, with his army of about 20 thousand men, was there, which made the Kinge resolve the rather the next day to ioyne battaile. But that intelligence proved false; only in Popenham, whoe with his army was marched to Hall, but that night marched backwardes, and himself was at the begining of the battaile, but his folkes came first about two of the clock. The Kinge lodged that nighte in the playne feildes, about an English myle from Litzen, where the enimies randavow was.

The six of November the Kinge at break of the day marched his army in forme as I have here inclosed sent yow, himself leading the righte winge, the Duke Bernerd Weamer the lefte, and Kniphowsen generall maior had the command of the forte. The enimies army was ordered like ours, the crabates haveing the lefte wynge. The enimie had the advantage of Lypsicke highwaye, on either side of which a grafte, and close by the towne stood 4 wyndmills, which is fortefyed by nature very stronge; there they

planted 9 peeces of ordynance, and [in] 2 or 3 other places of advantage they had 12 peeces more. The Kinge, about 8 of the clock, first shott his looseninge, and soe advanced towardes the enimie. The enimie at first seemed to advance, which soe soone as the Kinge perceaved, he gave presently orders to advance; upon which the enimies they retyred again behinde the dike, where they had cast upp a kind of a brestworke; the enimie had ordered the crabates to fall rounde about upon our rere, which the Kinge perceaving gave command to the ffyues under the comand of Statehomes to march upon them, which bee did diligentlie. And haveing eighte companies, hee charged them with fower companies, putting them to flighte; but, upon his retreateing (according to expectation) they charged him soe that they putt him to the worst, till being received by his fower companies (sett for the purpose) hee charged them soe sore that he soe rowted them that the whole day wee were noe more troubled with them. Upon this the canons played a while, but wee were presently under ffavour of their canons. And the battaile ioyned aboute tenn of the clock, it being then a faire day; but just as the [battaile] ioyned there fell soe great a miste that wee cold not see one thother, which, if it had not bene, I beleeve wee had quickly made an ende of that daies work (but all must be as God will have it). At our first falling on they likewise sett the towne of Litzen on ffire, which did us much inconvenience, the wynde bloweing the smoak iust upon us. Hertzoke Bernerds and Winckles regimentes were comaunded upon the cannons at the mills; the other cannon were soone taken and nailed, but those at the mills three tymes wee had in our possession, and weare againe beaten from them. The King at the first charging to the graft, was shott through the arme and his horses neck; upon which they would fayne have perswaded him to have retyred, which he refused, rideing to the heade of the right winge of horse, incourageing them, saying nothing ailed him, and with that, comandeing them all to follow him, he leaped over the graft and charged the enimie; but there followed him but fower

regiments, which weare encountred with soe many of the enimie that they were forced to retyre. And there the Kinge fell, being shott through the heade and through the bodye. There fell iust by him one Truckes his chamber younker, whoe was brought off alyve, but since deade: he reported that when our horse retyred there came an officer of the enimies, whoe asked him whoe the Kinge was, which he refused to tell; he shott him through the bodye, and with that went to the Kinge demanding of himself what he was, to which he replyed he was the Kinge of Swethen; upon which he thought to have carryed off the bodye, but seeing our horse comeing againe to charge, he stroak the Kinge through the body with a broade sworde twyce, and then runn away, for then Herticke Bernerd himself charged with the horse, beat the enimie back and brought the corps off, which had receaved in all tenn woundes. The report of the Kinges death comeing amongst the soldyers (quite contrarie to expectation), yet made them fight the braver, as seemeing to resolve to revenge his death or dye. And soe the victorious Prince dyed with a victorye, for he was killed at the first charge of the horse, betwene eleaven and twelve, and the battaile lasted till fyve; but I beleeveit had not soe longe contynued, had it bene cleare weather, for the mist was soe greate that when wee had beaten them wee cold not see to followe the victorie. And at last when they weare quite beaten and wee had turned the cannons at the mills upon them, about 3 of the clocke, there came on eight thousand soldyers, Popenham's army, which charged againe at the mills, and gave soe brave a solvo that the whole day wee had not the like, which the remainder of Hertick Bernerdes regiment (which at most was but 50 stronge, answered) with which the comander of the fresh army fell, which wee suppose was Merodo, for Popenham was slayne at the beginning of the battaile, before his army was come upp. The losse of this comander soe astonished them all that the officers rann about him, and the soldyers flonge downe theire armes and rann awaye, and the officers cold by noe meanes make them longer stande; ffor

upon that duke Bernerde charged himself the mills, beating them from theire cannon, and there lodged himself all that nighte. But the distraction was soe great by reason of the losse of our noble Kinge, that wee pursued not our victorie that night, but contented ourselves with the wynning of the feild and cannon. Wee took there on the place 13 half cartours, and about eight other peeces and all theire amunition; wee killed on the place betweene three and foure thowsand of the enimie, and of our wee lost about 15 hundred. On the enimies side most of the great comanders are deade, but Walleston hee is certenly shott, and they say taken, prysoner, but that must be since my leaveing the army; but, however, I count our losse the greatest, haveing lost the bravest comander in the world. And I am confident, had it pleased God that he had survived this day, he had putt a period to all the warrs in Germany; but now God knowes how things will goe. Thus concluded our famous battaile, farr exceedeing that of Lypsick, for had not our foote stoode like a wall, there had not a man of us come off alyve, they being certen twyce our number; and our horse did but poorely. The enimie, more affraide then hurt, fled in great disorder, and never rested till they came to (*blank*) upon the borders of Voiteland and Bohemia. The bores cutt off twyce as many of theire men in theire flight, when noe man followed them, as wee did in the victorie. There is but a small number of them together, the greatest parte being runn soe farr away that I doubt they will not soone meet. And if the princes wold now doe as they ought, I dare say they will never be able to come to any greate heade, we haveing taken all theire amynition, and, besides those ordynance wee took in the place they lefte, about 20 more in the feildes by Lypsick.

Our army the 7th day marched back to Wysenfeild to inbalme the Kinge, and to take order for the hurte, whereof there weare many, and to gather our horse, whether there weare many disbanded at the first onsett.

The 10th of November wee broak up from Wysenfeild to Peck,

to follow the enemie, bearing the Kinges body with us, which marcheth betwixt the foote and the horse.

The 11th wee marched to Borne, where some forces were sent to Lipsick, where they cutt off above five hundred of the enemie, which lay in the towne, where young Walston is either slayne or taken. The castle offered presently to yield upon accorde, which was refused, they haveing intelligence of divers princes and great officers were in it. I lefte them playing with greate ordinance upon it, and I doubt not but ere this is taken in. Kniphowsen had an aslaughte upon Ffreiberge, having intelligence with the burgers, and theire cutt off betwene 400 and 500 of the enemie, and took the towne. Hertick Bernarde himself went likewise upon a small towne, where he cutt off three hundred crabates.

Upon the 12th of November we marched to Grinkinge about 12,000 stronge, where still our army resideth, expecting the rex-chancellour, whoe ere now I beleeve is with them, and must settle a course with the army. Wee suppose it will runn still in the Swethes name, in the queene and prince's names, and that the chancellour shalbe generall embassadour; ffor the ambition of the princes of Germany is soe great, that thone will not suffer thother to command; therefore how desperate thinges at this present stand I referr it to yow.

The duke of Sax is the author of all this mischeife, for first when hee took in Prauge, he neither attempted other places which then were easily taken, nor kept his army together, but, separateing them to theire winters quarters, suffered the enimie in sevrall places to ruyn about 7,000 of his men, and he at last forced to quyt all Bohemia, though he had under his command a brave army. And then he suffered Hulk (under his nose), at first being but 4,000, to make upp an army of 15,000 stronge, and so spoile all Misen; and I dare say, had not the Kinge come downe, he had taken the Elve streame, and what not, for in Wittingberge, his principall strength (when I passed through there), was not 200

soldyers; and had the duke but fortefyed Lypsick, Mysen, and Freeberge, and mande them well, theire whole army cold have done him noe harme. But his army, above 26,000 stronge, was and is still in Silesia in brave quarters; and now at last, to recompense all, when the Kinge, after dyvers postes sending, expected him and the duke of Luningberge to be within a dayes march of him, they had but then first ordered theire randevowe at Meydenberge, 16 or 17 myles from us, which I suppose made the Kinge more desperate. Wee have newes he shold be deade upon report of the Kinges death. The duke of Luningburge hath in some degrees playde his parte too, for his ambition not suffering Bawdis to comand, forst him to leave him, which gave Popenham, theire bravest generall, oportunitie to march, which otherwise he durst not.

Thus goe affaires in the Neither Saxon crites, whilest above we heare of naughte but unexpected victories, ffor the ffeld marshall Gustavus Horne hath taken in Lansberge, and dyvers other stronge places. Elsasia is ours, and the passe of Swiserland free.

Paulsgrave Bertenfeild is marched up to Minikin either to plunder it, or to force them to pay a great contribution they intended to the Kynge, for which they now refuse. Generall Bawdis is now fallen into the stiffe of coller, and there doth his pleasure. Generall Dubalt lyeth in Sylesia; there the enemie is quite ruinde, having but three strengthes in the whole land, and those in the borders of Bohemia; but all those seeme but faynte victories, in regard of the losse of our brave Kinge, whose valour and experience was an army alone,—but God's will must be done, and wee must referr all to him.

I am confident of the rex-chancellour's favour, and doubt not but soe longe as he lyves he will be my patron. I will doe my best to gett my regiment into the army where he comandeth the next springe, if we have nothing to doe with Poland, which I thinke wee shall not. The eldest prince being certeine elected (*blank*) and I beleeve cheafly by the kinge of Swethen's meanes; but

God knoweth what the ambition of kinges may make them doe.

We have great jelousies in the armyes, that in the day of battaille there was false playe. There was in the army one duke Fraunce Albert Sachen Lowenberge, whoe alwaies served the enimye, but who lately is come on the Kinges side, haveing no charge, only a volenteere. Hee that day was seene to alter his clothes, and when the Kinge was goeing to charge was alwaies by him; but as hee charged retyred his servantes, or he gyveing out he was shott, when nothing ayled him. But that which I misliked most, within three dayes he posted from the army to Wyttingberge, thence to the duke of Saxen, and in all places openly gave out that the Kinge was killed, a thinge not soe fitting to be done, especially amongst the vulger sorte. Howere it came I knowe not, but I am sure the Kinge had false intelligence the day before the battayle. Thus, feareing to bee too troublesome, presenting my humble duty to yow and my mother, and my love to all my frendes, I rest

Your dutifull sonne till death,

GEORGE FFLEETEWOODD.

Stateene, the 22th
Novemb. still. vet. 1632.

DIARY

OF

DR. EDWARD LAKE,

ARCHDEACON AND PREBENDARY OF EXETER,

CHAPLAIN AND TUTOR TO THE PRINCESSES MARY AND ANNE,

DAUGHTERS OF THE DUKE OF YORK, AFTERWARDS JAMES THE SECOND:

IN THE YEARS 1677—1678.

EDITED BY

GEORGE PERCY ELLIOTT, ESQ.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XL.VI.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS MS. Diary is now in the possession of the editor, a descendant of the writer. Dr. Lake was born, according to his own account, on 10th November, 1642, the son of a clergyman at Exeter. He was a scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, and afterwards (according to Anthony Wood) migrated to Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts and went into orders. He seems to have been connected in early life with the Earl of Bath's family; but became attached to the service of the Duke of York about 1670, and obtained the Archdeaconry of Exeter in 1676. He was also Rector of the united parishes of St. Mary-at-Hill and St. Andrew Hubbard, London; and a brother of the Trinity House. He was connected with the Devonshire family of the Walronds. He was the author of some devotional treatises, especially one of some reputation, "Officium Eucharisticum; a preparatory service to a devout and worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper."* A head of

* This little work was first published in 1673. The 3rd edition appeared in 1677, a short time before the commencement of the following Diary; the 15th in 1693, and the 30th in 1743. The earlier editions were dedicated to the Lady Mary, who was then the author's pupil. In 1843 it was republished at Oxford with a preface by A. J. Christie, Esq. Fellow of Oriel College. Seeing the relation in which Dr. Lake stood, not only to the Ladies Mary and Anne, but also to Dr. Compton, who he states had become the darling of the city and parliament because of his great zeal in the discouragement of papists and popery, it is remarkable that he should have produced a work of this kind, which a gentleman, now we believe a member of the Church of

the author by Vandergucht is prefixed to one of the editions of his Sermons. Granger says he was a man of uncommon piety and learning, and a celebrated preacher: to which praises we may perhaps add, that if he had had patience to carry his Diary a little further, he might probably have adorned the church by an exhibition of some of the qualities which distinguish the inimitable Pepys. He died on the 1st February, 1704, and the following inscription was placed on his monument in St. Katharine's, Tower Hill, from which it appears that his executors were fully impressed, like himself, with the sense of the inadequacy of the reward his merit and services had met with.

"Hic situs est venerabilis vir Edwardus Lake, S. T. P., ecclesiæ Exoniensis prebendarius ejusdemque archidiaconus; primò S. Mariæ ad Montem et S. Andreæ Hubbard, Parochiarum Unitarum, diù Rector, hujus ecclesiæ primus pater, concionandi arte celeberrimus, singularique erga Deum pietate, erga egenos liberalitate præclarus, duabus Reginis Mariæ et Annæ a sacris domesticis, iisdemque tutor vigilantissimus: ob hæc cum altior ei status designaretur, cœlestibus præmiis dignior visus est. Obiit kal. Feb. 1703–4; æt. suæ anno 63."

Rome, and certainly taking *very high-church views* of the subject, has thought worthy of republication. Mr. Christie notices that in the later editions the text had undergone some material alterations; but these, in all probability, were made after the author's death. The divisions of the services into "at prime, at tierce," &c. as well as the symbolic and red-letter embellishments, appear for the first time in this Oxford edition.

DIARY

OF

DR. EDWARD LAKE.

November 4th, 1677.*—This week hath produced four memorable things. The Lady Mary and the Prince of Orange were marryed on the Sunday; the Duchesse† was brought to bed of the Duke of Cambridge on the Wednesday; the Archbishop of Canterbury‡ dyed on the Friday; and on the same day Lady Ann appear'd to have the small pox.

October 21st, 1677.—The Duke of York din'd at Whitehall; after dinner return'd to Saint James', took Lady Mary into her closet, and told her of the marriage designed between her and the Prince of Orange; whereupon her highness wept all that afternoon and the following day. That evening the marriage was declared in council, the duke assuring them that (however he was represented abroad) he did herein, and would in all his actions, aime at the security and peace of the kingdom, and would never hinder but that his children should be educated in the religeon of the Church of England, which caused generall joy in the councill.

October 22nd.—The council at 5 o'clock came to St. James' to

* The journal begins with this summary of memorable events by way of heading.

† Mary of Modena, Duchess of York.

‡ Dr. Gilbert Sheldon.

compliment her highnesse, the Lord Chancellor Finch * making a short congratulatory speech.

23.—The judges also complimented her, the Lord Chief Justice Rainsford speaking in the name of the rest, after which they did all kiss her hands.

24.—The lord mayor and aldermen came to congratulate her and the prince. Sir Wm. Dolben, recorder, made the speech that day; also the civillians of Doctors' Commons did the like; and so did the African Company.

Nov. 4th.—At nine o'clock at night the marriage was solemnized in her highness's bed-chamber. The King, who gave her away, was very pleasant all the while; for he desir'd that the Bishop of London † would make haste, lest his sister should bee delivered of a son, and so the marriage be disappointed; and when the prince endowed her with all his worldly goods, hee willed to put all up in her pockett, for 'twas clear gains. At eleven o'clock they went to bed, and his majesty came and drew the curtains, and said to the prince, "Now, nephew, to your worke! Hey! St. George for England!"

Nov. 5.—The lord mayor and aldermen came to congratulate the marriage, and there was a generall joy throughout the city, testifyed by ringing of bells, bonfires, &c. The 4th of November, whereon the prince was marryed, was his birthday, as also the birthday of his mother, and the day of his father's death. Novr. 5th in the morning, the prince, by his favorite the Lord Benthein,‡ presented her highnesse with jewells to the value of £40,000.§

Nov. 7th.—The Duchesse of York was safely delivered of a son, to the great joy of the whole court (but the Clarendon party), at nine o'clock at night. The child is but little, but sprightly, and

* Afterwards Earl of Nottingham.

† Dr. Henry Compton.

‡ Qy. Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland.

§ Probably family jewels.

likeley to live.* 'Twas christen'd the next day in the evening, by the Bishop of Durham.† The king and the Prince of Orange were godfathers, and the Lady Frances Villers (in the room of her highnesse the Lady Isabella ‡) godmother. He was called Charles, and created Duke of Cambridge.

Nov. 9th.—About four o'clock in the afternoon the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sheldon) died at his palace at Lambeth, having prudently managed the primacy, and governed his see 14 years.

Nov. 10th.—Was my birthday, being 35 years old (God give mee grace so to number the rest of my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom!) Her highnesse the Lady Ann (whom God preserve!) having been 5 days sick, appeared to have the small pox; whereupon I was commanded not to go into her chamber and read prayers, because of my attendance on the princesse and the other children, which very much troubled me, and the more because her nurse was a very busy, zealous Roman Catholick, and would probably discompose her if shee had an opportunity; wherefore,

Nov. 11th.—I waited on the lady governesse § and suggested this unto her. Shee bad me indeed to do as I thought fitt, but unsatisfyed with what shee said to mee, I address'd to the Bishop of London,|| who commanded to wait constantly on her highnesse, and to do all suitable offices ministeriall which were incumbent on

* Charles Duke of Cambridge, the fifth of the infant sons of James who bore this title, and his first son by Mary of Modena.

† Lord Crewe.

‡ The Duke of York's infant daughter, at this time two years old: she died in 1681.

§ Lady Frances Villiers.

|| Dr. Henry Compton. He had taken an active part in compelling the Duke of York to have his children educated in the doctrine of the Church of England (see the Memoirs of King James); and this passage appears to indicate a very extraordinary degree of interference on his part with the internal affairs of the duke's household; but, as he was governor or preceptor to the two princesses, he had some authority in the matter, for the king their uncle confided their education to him and to the persons he appointed, of whom Dr. Lake was one.

mee: in which regard I thought it my duty before I went to her highnesse, to take my leave of the princesse, who designed for Holland with her husband the Friday after. I perceived her eyes full of tears, herself very disconsolate, not only for her sister's illnesse, but also for some discontent occasioned by the prince's urging her to remove her lodgings to Whitehall, which the princesse would by no means bee perswaded. I appeal'd her highnesse to this purpose, that I had the honour frequently to retire with her into her closet, but did call God to witnesse that I never said there or elsewhere any thing contrary to the holy scriptures, or the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, and I did hope that the things which I had instructed her in might still remain with her; that I had been with her 7 years, and no person who hath lived so long at court but did make a far greater advantage of his time than I have don, having gotton but £100 a year, wherefore I did humbly request her highnesse, that at her departure she would recommend me to the king, duke, and the Bishop of London; and I would indeavour to requite this favour by being very carefull of the right principling and instruction of her sister the Lady Anne, of whom I had already all possible assurances that she would bee very good. In fine, I wish'd her all prosperity, that God would bless her, and show her favour in the sight of strange people among whom shee went; wherewith I kneeled down and kiss'd her gown. Her highnesse gave mee thanks for all my kindnesses, and assured mee shee would do all shee could for mee, but was able to say no more for weeping, and so turn'd her back and went into her closet. At 3 o'clock I went to Lady Anne, and (considering her distemper) found her very well, without any headake, backake, or fever. I read prayers to her, and at 4 o'clock preached at Albemarle house * on Joh. 13, 17 v.

* According to Pennant, James Duke of Ormond, in 1670, lived at Albemarle House, which had been bought by Monk Duke of Albemarle after Clarendon's fall. London, p. 124.

I returned to Lady Anne at 7 o'clock, and found her as I left her; the pox were very small and not many.

Nov. 12*th.*—They appear'd very many, and her highnesse somewhat giddy and very much disordered. Her highnesse requested mee not to leave her, but come often to her: recommended to mee her foster sister, that I would take care to instruct her in the Protestant religion. At night I christen'd her nurse's child, call'd Mary.

Nov. 13*th* and 14*th.*—Her highnesse continued very ill.

Nov. 15*th.*—Was the queen's birth day; there was a ball at court, in order whereto the princesse attir'd herselfe very richly with all her jewells. From the ball she was appointed immediately to undresse herselfe and to go aboard; wherefore the family did all take their leaves of her about 8 o'clock in the evening and kiss'd her hand. There were many unlucky circumstances which did seem to retard and embitter their departure; as the sicknesse of Lady Ann, the dangerous distemper of lady governesse, who was left behind, and her husband too,* the princesse's master of the horse, obliged to stay; the sudden death of Mr. Hemlock, her nurse's father, which hapned at St. James's this night about 9 o'clock: the illnesses of Mrs. Trelawney's father and her uncle; as also Mr. White's dangerous sicknesse, who was appointed to attend them. God preserve her highnesse, and make her voyage and abode in Holland prosperous to her!

Nov. 16*th.*—The wind being easterly, their highnesses were still detain'd at St. James'. This day the court began to whisper the prince's sullennesse, or clownishnesse, that hee took no notice of his princesse † at the playe and balle, nor came to see her at St.

* Edward Villiers, Esq.

† The prince's neglect of Mary, with whom, in the words of Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, "he lived always coldly, and a little imperiously," seems to have begun early; but it is to be remembered that the days immediately following his marriage were occupied in vehement and unsuccessful endeavours to draw his uncle Charles the Second into his schemes against Louis XIV.

James', the day preceding this design'd for their departure. This evening the Archbishop of Canterbury was buried at Croydon, according to his order, nigh the grave of Archbishop Whitgift.

Nov. 19th.—This morning about 9 a'clock (the wind being westerly) their highnesses, accompany'd with his majesty and royal highnesse, took barges at Whitehall with several other persons of quality. The princesse wept grievously all the morning, requested the Duchesse of Monmouth to come often to her sister, to accompany her to the chapple the first time shee was able to appear there, and to think often on her; shee left also two letters to be delivered to her sister as soon as she was recoverred. The queen observing her highnesse to weep as shee took leave of her majesty, would have comforted her with the consideration of her own condition when shee came into England, and had never till then seen the king; to whom her highnesse presently replied, "But, madam, you came into England; but I am going out of England." They all dined at Elif:* his majesty and royal highnesse went with them in sight of Gravesend, and so return'd to Whitehall about 6 o'clock.

Nov. 23rd.—The governesse Lady Frances Villiers† died at St. James'.

Nov. 25th.—I was whisper'd at St. James's that Lady Harriotte Hyde‡ should succeed as governesse: seldom comes a better.

* Erith.

† Youngest daughter of Theophilus Howard, second Earl of Suffolk; married to Edward Villiers, esq. youngest son of Sir Edward Villiers, governor of Munster; mother to William the Third's favourite, the first Earl of Jersey. She had been several years attached to the Duke of York's household. In 1669 she was governess to Edgar Duke of Cambridge, with a salary of 400*l*. a year. (Jesse's Memorials of the House of Stuart, i. 456.)

‡ Lady Henrietta Boyle, daughter of Richard Earl of Burlington, married to the well-known statesman Lawrence Hyde, second son of the Chancellor Lord Clarendon, and afterwards created Earl of Rochester. Her daughter Henrietta married the Earl of Dalkeith, son to the Duke of Monmouth, from whom descend the present house of Buccleuch. She was a friend of Evelyn, and seems to have borne a high character, although she did not altogether escape the scandal of that scandalous age. She was

Nov. 29th.—Her highnesse Lady Anne seem'd perfectly recover'd, and order'd me to give God thanks in her chamber for safe recovery; at which time she gave me two guinneys to bestow on the poor. 'Twas reported this week at court that the Archbishop of Dublyn,* Chancellor of Ireland, should succeed Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom people had different opinions; some said, hee was no true friend to the church, but a great favorer of papists; others said the contrary, adding that hee was a free and generous prelate, and a great lover of hospitality; a man of great courage and resolution; that when the Lord Broghall upon some discontent (in a passion) told him, "My lord, your coat defends you," his grace presently replied, "My lord, I would have you to know that my coat defends you." 'Twas talk'd in the city, that the archbishoprick should be putt into the hands of three commissioners, viz. the Bishops of London, Rochester,† and Oxford,‡ for three years, and the revenue to be laid out towards the building of Paul's. But most were of opinion that the Bishop of London would suddenly be declar'd archbishop, tho' strongly opposed by the duke, because hee was over busy in prosecuting the papists, particularly Mr. Coleman,§ one of his highness's servants, complaining of him to the king that he was very active in perverting

doubtless the person described in Grammont as Madame Hyde, the owner of the most admirable foot in England. The engraving from her portrait in one of the editions is lettered "Lady Rochester," the title taken by her husband, Lawrence Hyde, when advanced to an earldom. She was not likely to succeed to the office of governess to the princesses, being a strong Protestant, and, indeed, the Earl of Rochester was removed from the Lieutenancy of Ireland by James II., his brother-in-law, to make way for a Catholic, and he shortly after espoused the cause of the Prince of Orange.—B.

* Michael Boyle, afterwards Primate of Ireland. Burnet says, "He was in all respects so complaisant to the court" of James the Second, "that even his religion became suspected;" to which Swift subjoins, "false as hell."

† Dr. Dolben, afterwards Archbishop of York. He, like Compton, had been a soldier, and commanded a troop of dragoons for Charles I.

‡ Dr. John Fell, Dean of Christ Church.

§ Secretary to the Duke of York; the first unfortunate victim of the Popish Plot persecution.

persons to the Romish persuasion, whereupon his highnesse was ordered by the king to discard him out of his family.

Dec. 1st.—We had notice by the return of a yacht that their highnesses were safely landed at Ter-heyde the Thursday last after dinner, whence they went directly to Hounster-dyke. All the ladies were extremely sick (except her highnesse) by reason of the tempestuous weather and contrary winds; so that they were obliged to come ashore at Charnesse,* whence they went to Canterbury, and tarry'd there some few days, and went aboard again at Margetts.†

Dec. 3d.—Lady Anne went forth of her chamber to see the duchesse in her lodgings, the servants all rejoicing to see her highnesse so perfectly recover'd. The duke visited her every day of her sicknesse, and commanded that her sister's departure should be conceal'd from her; wherefore there was a feigned message sent every morning from the princesse to her highnesse to know how she did.

Dec. 4th.—I was called out of my bed at 4 o'clock in the morning to visit and give the sacrament to Mrs. Hickman, a niece of the Lord Windsor,‡ who was (tho' not dangerously) ill. This day I had notice that the duke had discovered last night to Lady Ann the princesse's departure, which she appear'd to bear very patiently. My good friends Mrs. Dorothy Grimes and the

* Sheerness, Isle of Sheppy.

† Dr. Birch, in his Life of Tillotson, notices a story in Echard (Appendix, p. ii.), that the prince and princess, instead of embarking at London, were sent privily out by the Canterbury road, in order to avoid a great city feast, which was preparing for them, and at which some disagreeable manifestation of civic opinion was expected; and that Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury, laid the foundation of his fortunes with them by making himself useful in supplying them with plate and furniture. He controverts the first part of the story on the authority of the Gazette, according to which they sailed as far as Sheerness, were detained there by weather, went to Canterbury Nov. 23, left that city Nov. 26, and embarked at Margate on the 28th, which accords with Dr. Lake's account.

‡ Thomas Windsor Hickman, to whom Charles the Second confirmed the barony of Windsor in 1660; ancestor of the Earls of Plymouth.

Lady Sylvius, granddaughters of the Earle of Berkshire,* and daughters of Coll. Will. Howard, were by patent from the king appointed to have the same respect and honor done to them as to earls' daughters, and to be called Lady Dorothy Grimes and Lady Ann Sylvius; wherefore this latter was made lady of the bedchamber to the princesse.

Dec. 10*th.*—Lady Ann removed from her lodgings into the princesse's.

Dec. 11*th.*—Discoursing at the R. coffee-house with Dr. Doughty and Mr. Sands concerning Dr. Brown,† late cannon of Windsor, the Dr. told us there had been a little before his death a jocular cursory agreement between him and Dr. Vossius, then newly admitted canon, that if hee died before Dr. Vossius hee would leave him his manor of Southney during his life; but if Dr. Vossius died before him, hee should bequeath him his library. Dr. Brown sickening and dying shortly after, very generously left him his said manor, valued at £400 per annum, situated very pleasantly within 2 miles of Windsor, but worded his will so obnoxiously in that particular that hee should have it during his exile, that it occasioned a tedious law-suit between the executrix and him, which cost him nigh £600, the lawyers not regarding

* Dorothy Howard, married to Sir James Græme, of Levens in Westmoreland, and Anne to Sir Gabriel Sylvius the diplomatist; daughters of William, fourth son of the first Earl of Berkshire, and sisters to Craven, afterwards earl. They were intimate friends of Evelyn, who was at the wedding of the latter lady, and gives a full description of it. (Diary, vol. ii. p. 410.) She must have been Sylvius's second wife, if there is any truth in Grammont, who says in his chapter of the queen's maids of honour, that "la petite La Garde" got married to "le Seigneur Sylvius, personnage qui n'avait rien de ce que promettait le nom romain qu'il avait pris," which lady, in the notes to the common editions of Grammont, is made to live on into the next century.

† Thomas Browne, Chaplain to Archbishop Laud in 1636, Canon of Windsor 1639, Rector of St. Mary Aldermanbury, and Oddington in Oxfordshire. He was Chaplain to Mary Princess of Orange for some time, during the exile of Charles II. His friend Isaac Vossius, celebrated at once for his learning, eccentricities, credulity, and scepticism, was the author of the inscription to his memory on the outside of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Vossius was the man of whom Charles the Second said, that he refused to believe nothing but the Bible.

the intentions of the donor. He left a daughter of the Lady Mary Heveningham * his executrix, to whom hee was no way related, and to whose family hee was perfectly a stranger, but since his majesty's return; which occasioned scandalous reports, whereof Dr. Brown was sensible, but to clear himselfe Dr. Brown took the sacrament two hours before his death, with this protestation, Neminem novi in carne. 'Twas remembered that whilst chaplin to the late princesse royal hee invited her at his house between the Hague and Delfe to a dinner consisting of 30 dishes without either flesh or fish.

Dec. 12th.—This day, between 11 and 12 o'clock, Charles Duke of Cambridge died at St. James', not without suspicion of being ill manag'd by Mrs. Chambers, who pretended to recover him. This day I heard an account of a dream which the duchess had, and which much discompos'd her; viz. that whilst she lay in bed the Lady Frances Villiers appear'd to her, and told her that shee was damn'd, and now in the flames of Hell; whereto shee answer'd, "How can this be? I cannot believe it." Whereto the lady reply'd, "Madam, to convince you, feel my hand," which seemed so extremely hott that it was impossible for the duchess to endure it; whereat she awak'd much affrighted, and told the dream to severall of her visitants. But the Earle of Suffolk,† and her other relations, seem'd much concern'd at the duchess for relating it; and, indeed, it occasion'd a great deal of discourse both at court and in the city.

* Daughter and sole heiress of Henry Carey, Earl of Dover, the last of the line of Hunsdon. She married the regicide William Heveningham, of Ketteringham, in Norfolk, who surrendered to the proclamation of June 6, 1660. His life was spared, and his wife is said to have got a patent from Charles II. which saved most of the estate. She died at her house in Jermyn-street, in 1692. Her son William, knighted in 1674, married a daughter of Viscount Grandison. He seems to have been one of the fashionable coxcombs of Charles's reign, who imitated the wit and follies of Rochester and Buckingham. The Norfolk branch of this ancient family became extinct in the male line at his death.

† James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk.

Dec. 13th.—Walking with Mr. Ellis, was told by him the reason of the great kindness which Archbishop Laud had for Dr. Morgan ap Owen;* that whilst hee was Bishop of St. David's a considerable lease expir'd; he offer'd the tenants to renew it for 900*l.* but they would give no more than 500*l.* Mr. Owen, then a schoolmaster in Wales, hasten'd to the bishop, and told him the worth of it, and advised him that when they came again hee should pretend the disposall of it to mee for 1,500*l.*, with this proviso, that upon reasonable conditions it should be return'd to them; wherefore they address'd to Mr. Owen, and offer'd him a repayment of the 1,500*l.*, which he refused, and they were pursuaded to give him 1,700*l.*, which sum hee brought to Bishop Laud's; by means whereof the bishop paid all his debts, and appeared in good fashion at the court; wherefore his interest made the said Dr. Owen Bishop of Landaffe, and would have translated him to St. David's, had not his untimely death prevented it, which broke Bishop Owen's heart, for hee dyed within two days of the notice of it.

The Duke of Cambridge was opened this morning, and his entrails found perfectly sound; that in the opinion of the physicians he might have lived many years had not Mrs. Chambers and Mrs. Manning, his dry nurse, struck in the humour which broke forth under his arm and at his navell, instead of putting a cole leafe to draw it out; quò natura tendit, tendat, quò movet, moveat; wherefore the whole court was concern'd at it; and the duke was never known to grieve so much at the death of any of his other children.

Dec. 16th.—Lady Anne came to chapple, and appear'd thoroughly recover'd. This week people did variously discourse of the expectations of the next session of Parliament, which would commence Jan. 15; wherein the king resolv'd to propose a war with France. But 'twas generally thought that they would oppose his majesty's designs; 1st. by teazing their Speaker, and labouring to dispossesse

* Bishop of Llandaff in 1639. Laud's patronage of this prelate, who was accused of Romanising tendencies, was one of the circumstances urged against the archbishop on his trial.

him of his chair, as being not only a Privy Councellor, but frequently admitted to the Cabinet Councill: 2, by urging the king to declare who advis'd him to continue friendship so long with France, contrary to their addresse last session, and to remove them from court, otherwise they were not secure of them, but that they would still frustrate whatever they should act in order to a war; to both which the king's friends were preparing their answer. Da pacem in diebus nostris, Domine!

Dec. 22nd.—Lady Yarmouth * told me what great afflictions the Countess of Danby † groaned under because of her two sons; that the Lord Latimer (her eldest) and his lady were sadly diseased with the pox, and did even begin to rott; and the Lord Dumblane (her second son, and a very boy) was sent into France to bee cured of the same disease; insomuch that shee passionately wish'd herself lady Osborne again, and in the same condition wherein she was in Yorkshire seven years ago. A just recompense of her ill usage of her nearest relations, particularly Lady Yarmouth, suffering them to groan under troubles when 'twas in her power to relieve them, and without any prejudice to herselfe.

Dec. 23rd.—I administered the sacrament to the Lord John Barclay ‡ (being not well), and his lady discoursing with Dr. Turner in the vestry concerning the succession to the see of Canterbury, hee said that hee was told by one who was at the top of the interest opposite to the Bishop of London, that the king was prevailed on to defer the nomination of an archbishop till after the session of parliament; and in case the parliament should

* Viscountess Yarmouth, daughter of Sir Jasper Clayton, Bart., citizen of London.

† Sir Thomas Osborne, the celebrated statesman, created Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, at this time treasurer. He married Bridget, daughter of Montagu Bertie, Earl of Lindsey. His eldest son Lord Latimer married Elizabeth, daughter of Simon Bennett, of Beckhampton, Bucks. He and his lady both died young, and left no issue, the titles of the father descending to another son.

‡ Probably John Lord Berkeley. He was afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and subsequently of Ely, and was deprived for not taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary.

make it their request that his majesty would promote the Bishop of London thereto, who was now become the darling of the city and parliament because of his great zeal in the discouragement of papists and popery, they had their dilatory answers ready to satisfy them.

Dec. 28th.—I heard the good newes of my friend Mr. Morton, B.D.* chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, preferred by him to the deanery of Christchurch in Dublyn, worth £800 per annum, void by the death of Dr. Parry (Bishop Parry; his brother Benjamin Parry, dean of St. Patrick's, was promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory).

Dec. 29th.—Walking with Sir Allen Apsley † in the park, hee entertain'd some discourse with me concerning Dr. Lloyd's ‡

* Probably Lake officiated for his friend Morton at Albemarle House.

† Sir Allan Apsley was brother or nephew of the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson. See her Memoirs of her husband, the regicide Colonel Hutchinson. He was treasurer of the household to the Duke of York.

‡ William Lloyd, afterwards bishop of St. Asaph, and ultimately of Worcester. The work here alluded to is his "Considerations touching the true way to repress Popery in this Kingdom. London, 1677," thus characterised by Burnet:—"He had writ a book with very sincere intentions, but upon a very tender point. He proposed that a discrimination should be made between the regular priests, that were in a dependence and under directions from Rome, and the secular priests, that would renounce the pope's deposing power and his infallibility. He thought this would raise heats among themselves, and draw censures from Rome on the seculars, which in conclusion might have very good effects. This was very plausibly writ, and designed with great sincerity; but angry men said all this was intended only to take off so much from the apprehension that the nation had of popery, and to give a milder idea of a great body among them; and as soon as it had that effect, it was probable that all the missionaries would have leave given them to put on that disguise, and to take those discriminating tests, till they had once prevailed, and then they would throw them off."—Own Time, i. 259, edit. 1823. Lloyd was a very learned man, who strangely bewildered himself in the latter part of his life in endeavours to expound prophecy. Burnet, who boasts of his friendship, gives him a long and honourable notice, to which Swift subjoins—"The dullest, good-for-nothing man I ever knew." Hume mentions him as joining with Archbishop Sancroft and the other prelates in their petition to James the Second, deprecating his assuming to suspend the laws against Roman Catholics. There was another Bishop Lloyd, one of the non-juring bishops, whose Christian name was also William. He was first appointed to Llandaff, then translated to Peterborough, and afterwards to Norwich.

book, which hee was encouraged by my lord treasurer* and some bishops to print in behalfe of those who are falsly called Church-Catholicks, to make way for an act of parliament which was design'd in favor of them; the design of the book was to distinguish between them and the Jesuited party, and that the favor of a toleration should bee granted to them. Whoever was the first author of this legerdemain, certain it is that his royal highness was well pleased with the book; of which I gave Sir Allen this notice, viz. that at the last session of the parliament the duke step'd from the other side of the House of Lords to the present bishop of Exon, Dr. Lamplugh, and wish'd him joy of his bishoprick, and demanded who was his successor in the living of St. Martyn's: hee told him, Dr. Lloyd; the duke replyed, hee knew him, and that hee was a very learned and worthy man, and that hee had lately written an excellent book. The bishop wondred of the duke's design in talking to him, to whom hee had never before spoke; but it seems 'twas to applaud Dr. Lloyd and his book.

Dec. 30th.—This day Dr. William Sandcroft, Dean of St. Paul's, was declar'd Archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to the expectations of all the court; and to the dissatisfaction of many bishops, who resented his leap from the deanry of Paul's over their heads unto the primacy. It could not be imagin'd at court what or who urged the king to promote him, unless (as t'was most generally suppos'd) a particular esteem and kindness his majesty always had for him; as appears from this instance, that when in the time of the late plague the last archbishop fell dangerously sick, and not likely to recover, the king was heard to say at Oxford hee knew no person more fitt to succeed him than the Dean of Paul's; adde hereunto, that when Dr. Sudbury Dean of Durham had in the year 1670 preached an excellent sermon before the king, Dr. Cosins, Bishop of Durham, who then waited as clerk of the closet for the Bishop of Oxford, told him, "Sir, this man and the Dean of Paul's I presumed to recommend to be chaplains to your majesty;" the

* Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, afterwards the first Duke of Leeds.

king presently answered him, "My lord, recommend two such more to mee, and I will return you any four I have for them." 'T was afterwards surmiz'd that my lord chancellor was his great friend, and that he said to the king a fortnight ago, "Sir, I will not presume to recommend an archbishop to your majesty, but I will presume to say, that the Dean of Paul's is the fittest person in your three kingdoms for it;" and that my lord treasurer too did clandestinely befriend him, tho' he told the Bishop of London but three days before that hee might sett his heart at rest, for hee would certainly be archbishop. The Duke did most gladly submitt to it, willing that any should be archbishop rather than the Bishop of London:* wherefore a servant of his highness and a good Protestant dining with Mr. Coleman a fortnight (ago?) began with him some discourse concerning a succeeding archbishop; to whom Mr. Coleman openly and freely said, that the Bishop of London must not expect to bee the man, because of his forwardness in persecuting the Roman Catholics, particularly the Portugall ambassador and himselfe; however he thought him to bee a very honest gentleman, and that what hee did was by the instigation of other men; adding that at this time the scales were equally pois'd, and in one of them was the Dean of St. Paul's, in the other the Bishop of Oxford, and that one of them would certainly be archbishop; and without all question the Bishop of London might with his interest have turn'd the scales for the Bishop of Oxford, did not my lord treasurer all along caresse him as secure of it for himself; wherefore the king sent Mr. Chiffinch † last evening to look out the Dean of St.

* The compiler of James the Second's Memoirs says that the reason why Compton did not get the archbishopric was "that he was married, and his wife alive." The real one undoubtedly was the dislike which James himself entertained to him, on account of his zeal against popery and his arbitrary interference with James's own establishment. Besides Burnet (whose prejudice against Sancroft is well known), Anthony Wood in his Life, and Kennett in his History, both attribute his appointment to James.

† Closet-keeper to Charles II., and greatly in his confidence.

Paul's, and command him to attend his majesty about 5 a'clock at his lodgings. Mr. Chiffinch, after a long search of him, found him at the Bishop of London's, call'd him aside, and declar'd his message. The dean, much appal'd, cry'd out, "What have I don, since his majesty hath now sent for mee?" Mr. Chiffinch satisfy'd him that the king was not angry with him, nor sent for him upon any such account. At 5 a'clock hee attended his majesty at Mr. Chiffinch's lodgings, and was offer'd by him the archbishoprick, but appear'd very unwilling to accept it, telling his majesty that hee was very unfitt for it thro' his solitary life which he had a long while led, desiring his majesty to recommend to it some bishop more worthy of it. His majesty pleasantly answer'd him, that whether he would accept it or no hee had already given away his deanry, which was bestow'd on Dr. Stillingfleet, and Dr. Stillingfleet's residentiaryship conferr'd on Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, *for his better support*, by my lord chancellor's means, contrary to his majesty's prepromise to Dr. Holder, who was subdean of his chapple some years, and had don him very considerable services. 'T was noised at court that the king had given the archbishop a barge and a coach and six horses; but it is most certain that hee forgave him his first fruits, nor had hee one peny at present towards the defraying of them; for it was credibly told mee by one who heard him say it within a short time after the burning of London, "I did once think myselfe a rich man when I had fifty pounds beforhand, which money I entrusted with a merchant who broke, and it miscarryed; and now I resolve never to bee rich again:" and he was as good as his word, giving away all that he could get towards the building of Paul's, and took more pains to resign his preferments than other men would to gett them; viz. his archdeaconry of Canterbury to Dr. Parker, his prebend of Durham to Mr. Holdsworth, and a good living nigh Durham * to

* Houghton.

another person. The Earle of Thoumond encountering this day the Bishops of London and Durham as they came from chapple, told them very pleasantly, "My lords, you have been shown a Newmarket trick; but you see God Allmighty's rule doth often hold,—hee putteth down the mighty from their seat, and exalteth them of low degree."

Jan. 5th.—This week the Bishop of London required all the ministers of London to meet him at Paul's, where hee recommended to them these four things; first, that they would make a combination among themselves of preachers to preach every Wednesday and Friday in Lent, both at St. Bride's, in the west, and St. Christopher's, in the east, which accordingly they did; 2. that they would think of some way to suppress private christnings, except in case of necessity; 3. to restore catechizing in all the churches in the afternoon; 4th. that they would meet him in that place once every month to consult about the state of their parish and parishioners.

Jan. 7th.—Discoursing with Mr. Masters about the archbishop; hee told mee that hee had often heard him preach, and did always believe him to bee either a very pious or a very cunning man; but hee was very sorry to hear what was reported of him by his own servant, that hee was more than suspected to have been more than decently intimate with one Mrs. Bembo, in Maiden Lane, in Covent Garden, at (whose?) house he then lodged, which occasioned a friend of Mr. Masters (meaning, I suppose, Dr. Tillotson,) to baulk all acquaintance with him, whereto he was much courted. Whereto I replied that it could not be so, when he took so much pains to give away his preferments; for persons who indulge that lust, instead of disposing what they have, do commonly desire more to maintain it. However it recall'd to my mind what Mr. Nott, the bookbinder, told mee when we were once walking, about 5 years since, in Maiden Lane, and saw this woman sitting in her door, "I do not like this woman, for she hath

said very ill things of the D. of P." viz. things to the same purpose of what was mentioned before.*

Jan. 8th.—This morning my friend Dr. Francis Turner's† wife died in childbed, to his great griefe, thro' the ill-usage (as 'twas thought,) of a Quaker, her midwife.

Jan. 9.—I was very sorry to understand that the Princess of Orange, since her being in Holland, did sometimes play at cards upon the Sundays, which would doubtless give offence to that people.‡ I remember that about two years since, being with her highness in her closett, shee required my opinion of it. I told her I could not say 'twas a sin to do so, but 'twas not expedient, and for fear of giving offence I advised her highness not to do it, nor did shee play upon Sundays while shee continued here in England.

* The judicious reader may collate this piece of clerical gossip with two letters from Bishop Cosins to Sancroft, published by D'Oyly in his Life of the latter prelate, vol. i. p. 121, which relate to a projected marriage with a certain "gentlewoman." The Bishop says,—" I take not the difficulties which you mention to be invincible, either on her part, or much considerable on the part of those on whom you say she depends; and truly there cannot be a greater act of charity done for her than to take her out of the danger wherein she lives, and prevent her falling into the fire." But as these letters are dated 1661, when Sancroft was residing at Houghton, in Durham, they are not very likely to refer to the same passage in his life. It must be added, that our friend Dr. Lake seems to have cherished something of an ill-natured spirit towards Sancroft. In one of his letters to Sir H. North, written from his retirement at Fressingfield after the Revolution (Dec. 23, 1691), Sancroft says, "The spirit of calumny, the persecution of the tongue, dog me even into this wilderness. Dr. Lake of Garlick Hill, and others, have, as I am informed, filled your city with a report that I go constantly to this parish church, and pray for I know not whom, nor how, and receive the holy sacrament there, so that my cousin had something to do to satisfy even my friends that it was quite otherwise." D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. ii. p. 18. Dr. Birch, in a MS. note to this passage (in the British Museum copy of the original edition of the letter to Sir H. North), says this was the rector of St. Mary at Hill.

† Dr. Francis Turner, the Dean of Windsor, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester 1683, translated to Ely 1684, and deprived 1690.

‡ Dr. Lake (as we shall see from other passages in this journal) was disappointed at not getting the place of chaplain to her highness in Holland. Dr. Hooper, who got it, writes in a very different strain. See a long account drawn up by him of his attendance on this most amiable of royal ladies, in the Appendix to Mr. Trevor's William III.

Jan. 12th.—Father Patrick* dined at my Lord of Bath's,† but disguised, and had on a long black perriwig, and a sword and grey clothes, and was called by the name of Captain Dunbar, in which disguise he had been long in town.

Jan. 13th.—My wife suddenly miscarried about 5 o'clock in the evening, but could not imagine the occasion of it, having been very well but half an hour before.

Jan. .—The Parliament sate, and, as it was suppos'd, they began with their speaker, desiring to displace him; but they were forthwith adjourned to a fortnight after, when he well defended himself, and continued still speaker.‡

Jan. 17.—Her highness Lady Anne told mee in her closett that the princesse did mee the honour as to remember mee in her letter to her, and desired her to present mee with her hearty respects.

Jan. 28.—I had notice that Dr. Hooper,§ chaplain to the late

vol. i. p. 461. "In the time he attended her, which was about a year and a half, he never saw her do nor heard her say a thing that he could have wished she would not."

* This poor father (who was at this time obliged to disguise himself, in consequence of Charles II.'s proclamation against priests) was a favourite butt of the Protestant wits of that day. Andrew Marvell thus mentions him in his "Instructions to a Painter:"

"Next draw his highness prostrate to the South,
Adoring Rome, this label in his mouth:
'Most holy father, being joined in league
With Father Patrick, Danby, and with Teague,
Thrown at your sacred feet, I humbly bow,
I, and the wise associates of my vow,'" &c. &c.

The honour of James's conversion is facetiously attributed to him in one of the "State Poems," beginning—

"Betwixt Father Patrick and 's highness of late
There happened a strange and a weighty debate."

Evelyn, in his Diary (vol. iv. p. 226), mentions meeting him "at Mr. Treasurer's," and addresses him a long letter on the Anglican doctrine of the Eucharist. He was the author of "A famous Conference between Pope Clement X. and Cardinal Montalto touching the late discovery of the Mass in Holy Scripture." 1674.

† John Grenville, first Earl of Bath, son of Sir Bevill Grenville.

‡ See the debates on the irregular adjournments of Speaker Seymour, Parliamentary Hist. 1678, p. 903. He retired in the Easter recess, and Sir Robert Sawyer was chosen.

§ Afterwards Dean of Canterbury and Bishop of Bath and Wells.

archbishop of Canterbury, was design'd to succeed Dr. Lloid as chaplain to the Princesse of Orange in Holland, and almoner; and accordingly he was preparing for his journey, and Dr. Lloid to return, who (by means of the Bishops of London and Rochester,) was preferred to wait on her into Holland, whilst Dr. Doughty and myself, who had been her highness's chaplains and tutors many years, were for some (I know not what) reasons laid aside, which occasioned great discourses both in the court and city, to the prejudice of Dr. Lloid. My friend Mr. Cox, chaplain to the lord treasurer, is her highness's other chaplain.

Jan. 29.—The parliament sate this day, being Tuesday, and adjourned to the Thursday, because on the Wednesday the king's martyrdom was to be observ'd, upon which motion my lord O'Brian * made a passionate speech in the house, that the old king did yet probably want Christian buryall,† which perhaps was a maine cause of those dreadfull judgments which have of late befallen the nation; whereupon the house did forthwith vote £70,000 toward his buryall.‡ This occasion'd some discourse between mee, Mr. Baron, and Sir Harry St. George, at the Romer in King street; this latter assuring us from Sir Charles Wheeler, who had it from Coll. Tomlinson,§ captain of the guard when his majesty was prisoner at St. James's, and [who] was very civill to

* Donatus Lord O'Brien, grandson of Henry Earl of Thomond, married Lady Sophia, youngest daughter of Lord Danby. He perished in the shipwreck of the Gloucester frigate, on the Duke of York's voyage to Scotland, 1682.

† This implies a doubt whether he had Christian burial, and seems to sanction the uncertainty noticed by Clarendon as to how the body of Charles I. had been disposed of; whereas Herbert's account of the burial was proved correct as to the place, and most likely is so as to the manner. See Sir H. Halford's account of the discovery of the body.

‡ Is this vote mentioned elsewhere? No burial of the body took place in pursuance of it.

§ The reader will find Col. Tomlinson's own version of this story, told by himself, in the trial of the regicide Hacker (State Trials). It furnishes a curious instance of the way in which the expression of a very natural conjecture, magnified by successive repetition, grows to pass for a prophecy. Aubrey quotes it in his Miscellanies as an instance of the second sight, or rather of sudden inspiration!

his majesty during his restraint, that the evening before his martyrdome the king consulted with him about the manner of his buryall, giving him some instructions concerning it. The next day, when he conducted his majesty over the park to his execution, and was delivering him up to another guard, the king call'd and whisper'd him to this effect: "Coll. Tomlinson, I gave you some memorandums last night about my buryall, but have since thought better on it, and would have you take no notice of what I told you; for Charles himself will returne and bury mee." People were generally well pleased with this vote; and the forreign ministers at court could not but admire that this solemnity hath been neglected all this time. Wee proceeded to mention the king's readinesse in foretelling events, and from this to his Sors Virgiliana, which hapned at Oxford in the time of the late war, and whilst the parliament sate there; viz. that his majesty being tired out with businesse and afflictions, resolv'd to recreate himselfe with some young noblemen who were students there, by pricking in Virgill for his fortune, which he did, and lighted upon Dido's curse to Æneas when hee left her* [lib. 4, 615—620.]

At bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
Finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli,
Auxilium imploret, videatque indigna suorum
Funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquæ
Tradiderit, regno aut optatâ luce fruatur,
Sed cadat ante diem, mediâque inhumatus arenâ.

Whereat his majesty seem'd much concern'd, but sent it by Mr. German, now Earle of St. Alban's, to Mr. Cowley, then student of Christechurch, to translate them into English, with a command not to acquaint him whose Sors it was; which Mr. Cowley did thus:

By a bold people's stubborn arms opprest,
Forc'd to forsake the land which he possest;

* This well-known story of the Sortes is to be found in Wellwood's Memoirs, p. 64. (See Harris's Charles I. p. 56.) But we are not aware that the circumstance of Cowley's translation of the lines is mentioned by any author.

Torn from his dearest son, let him in vain
Seek help, and see his friends unjustly slain:
Let him to bold unequall terms submitt,
In hopes to save his crown, yet loose both it
And life at once; untimely let him dy,
And on an open stage * unburyed ly.

Febr. 8.—We had notice that the archbishop did absent himself from court, and was retired to Barnes, being very ill of an ague.

Feb. 14.—About this time I had a letter out of Holland from Mr. Lee, that the princesse was grown somewhat fatt, and very beautifull withal; that shee did sometimes goe (by Dr. Lloyd's connivance) to the English congregation at the Hague: whereat I was much troubled, and so were all other honest and loyale persons who had notice of it: for this church is serv'd by a non-conformist minister out of England, and maintain'd by the States to draw people thither for the increase of their trade. Nor would Dr. Brown suffer the late princesse royale to be drawn thither, though in the worst of times, when there was hardly any face of a church of England. And yet the present bishop of Winchester † hath preach'd in that church when he was chaplain to the Queene of Bohemia, for which his lordship suffer'd much in his reputation.

Febr. 24*th*.—I waited on the bishop of St. David's,‡ with whom I found the bishop of Exeter, who discoursing of and lamenting the debaucherys of the nation, and particularly of the court, imputed them much to the untimely death of the old king, who was always very severe in the education of his present majesty: insomuch that at St. Mary's in Oxford hee did once hitt him on the head with his staffe when he did observe him to laugh (at sermon time) upon the ladys who sate against him. 'T was at that time observ'd, his majesty had good spirit and courage; for some of the officers being gone forth into the countrey to plunder, accidentally met with an old captain who was one of Cromwell's officers, and

* Qy. shore or strand?

† Dr. Morley.

‡ Dr. Thomas, afterwards Bishop of Worcester.

had been very active against the king, and brought him to Oxford; there was a great concourse of people gathered about him at his entrance through the city, whereat his present majesty* walking the streets demanded what was the matter. They told him that as picqueering they found an old rebele who was then with them: hee ask'd them what they design'd to do with him: they said, they were carrying him to his father; the king immediately replied, "Carry him rather to the gallows and hang him up, for if you carry him to my father, hee'le surely pardon him."

March 19th.—The prolocutorship of the convocation being vacant upon the promotion of Dr. Sandcroft to the archbishoprick, wee were summon'd to appear at Westminster and elect another prolocutor, to which place Dr. Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's, was unanimously chosen; who forthwith made choice of Dr. Crowther,† prebend of Worcester, to present him. The same day the House of Commons seem'd to be very angry with and to talk high against the king's caball, by reason of the wars abroad. Sir Thomas Clarges‡ boldly saying that the privy councill signify'd little but to examine the miscarriages of some non-conformist minister, or a

* *i.e.* Charles II.

† Dr. James Crowther, Precentor of St. Paul's, Rector of Tredington, Worcestershire, Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. He is said to have married James to Ann Hyde. "I remember him," says Kennett, "esteemed at Oxford a very severe disputant, and very tenacious of the rules of logic. He would often moderate in the public disputations within his own hall; but so fierce and passionate that if the opponent made a false syllogism, or the respondent a wrong answer, he bid the next that sate by them kick their shins: and it became a proverb, Kick-shins Crowther. He was extremely hated at Tredington for his stiff contending with the people. They obliged him to keep a boar; he got a black one to spite them. The black pigs were called Crowthers. In his last days (he died in 1689) he was committed prisoner to the Fleet in London, by the endeavours of Sir T. Draper, because he refused to renew a *corps* belonging to St. Paul's Church, then in possession of Sir Thomas, which the doctor intended to wear out for the benefit of the said cathedral." Kennett's MS. Collections.

The word *corps* is sometimes used, as in the foregoing extract, to signify a lease for lives, of which one (or more) has fallen in.

‡ Brother of "Nan Clarges," the notorious Duchess of Albemarle. No notice of such a speech is to be found in the Parliamentary History.

justice of peace; but if any matter of importance or state business was to be canvass'd, but three or four persons, and they not the best statesmen, were allow'd to concern themselves with it. Wee were much concern'd to know where this would end.

Mar. 21st.—Our prolocutor was presented to the upper house in Harry the Seventh's chapple, where was present the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Exeter. Dr. Crowther, who presented him, did first make a Latine speech, in which was nothing observable but his extravagant commendations of him and his workes, particularly his Irenicum, calling it candidissimum Irenicum: which wee all admir'd hee should say, that was ever accounted a thoroughpac'd man for the church of England. The prolocutor proceeded and made his speech, wherein hee pretended to excuse himself as unworthy of this great office, as unable to manage it, specially considering the dangers wherein our church at present lay, the might and multitude of her adversaries. This don, the Bishop of London (the archbishop absenting himself) spoke, and very much commended the prolocutor for his modesty and his learning, saying these words, "Neminem *Antichristi* mænia tam feliciter evertisse, et *idololatricas* superstitiones debellasse." This week I was called to visit Mrs. Manwaring, niece to Sir Michael Heneage, who was very sick of a fever, and shortly after dyed of it.

Mar. 28th.—This day I accepted Mr. Charles Heron of Exeter to bee my register, the office (by the advice of good councill) being vacant, for that Mr. Shermans, the last registers, farmed it to Mr. Atherton, their deputy, contrary to the statute of the 5th and 6th of Edward the 6th. Whereupon Dr. Masters came to me from the Bishop of Exceter, and advis'd mee of its meaning, and requested me to bestow it on him, who had been his servant. The bishop also incourag'd me hereunto in Westminster Hall, and Dr. Fullwood wrote two letters to mee to the same purpose, having already dispos'd his registry to his son, which was too in the possession of the Shermans; nor was I unwilling to hearken to

him, because the Shermans never came to see mee, altho' archdeacon, but were perfectly strangers to mee; wherefore they exceedingly clamour'd, and began a law suit with us, being abetted by the lord chancellor their great friend, which made the bishop seem ignorant of and unconcern'd in our proceedings; however, he did that very night confirm my patent.

Mar. 31*st.*—Being Easter day, was the first time Lady Anne received the sacrament. The Bishop of Exon preached at St. James's, and consecrated; and dined with mee that day. Her highnesse was not (through negligence) instructed how much of the wine to drink, but drank of it twice or thrice, whereat I was much concern'd, lest the duke should have notice of it.*

April 5*th.*—I am confident to write a letter to the Princess of Orange, to give her an account that her sister had received the holy sacrament. The same day I began my journey to Exceter, in the company of Mr. Symonds, a citizen of London, and a native of Dorchester, and Mr. Sanders the nonconformist's son of Honyton.

Aprill 7*th.*—At Salisbury I heard an excellent sermon preach'd by the Revd. Mr. Joseph Kelsey, prebendary of that church; was courteously invited and treated at dinner by Mr. ———, brother-in-law to Mr. Symonds.

Apr. 9*th.*—I came to Exceter, having parted with Mr. Symonds at Dorchester. At Honyton my brother and Mr. Heron met mee, and at Honyton's Clist Mr. Crymes, Mr. Hooper, &c.

Apr. 14*th.*—I came forth at Exceter with Sir Wm. Walrond to his Bradfield,† where I had the happinesse once more to see my aunt Walrond, whom I had not seen before in ten years: the next

* This mistake must have arisen from the omission of suitable explanation, which it was the duty of Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, the preceptor in chief of the two princesses, and of course the pastor and master, par excellence, of Anne of York, after her sister was married, to have given.

† A house still in the possession of the family of Walrond, and one of the finest specimens of Tudor mansions in the west of England.

day, being Sunday, I preach'd for Mr. Gilbert at Columpton in the morning, and heard him preach in the afternoon.

Apr. 16*th.*—I began my visitation at Honyton, but was somewhat disturb'd by Mr. Atherton in the behalfe of the Shermans; Mr. Tarlton, of Bickton, preach'd a very good sermon on Luke 2, 32.

Apr. 17*th.*—I proceéded to visit at Columpton, where Mr. ——, Mr. Betenson's curate at Huntsham, preach'd an excellent sermon on Titus 2, 15. Here Sir Wm. Walrond and his brother, and some other persons of quality, did mee the honor to dine with mee. The next day I return'd to Exceter, after having dined that day with Mr. Gilbert at Mr. Sainthill's, a justice of peace, at Bradnich.

Apr. 19*th.*—I visited at Exceter; Mr. Kingston, vicar of Christow, preach'd very well on 2 Cor. 5, 20.

Apr. 23*rd.*—I visited the Christianitys.* Whilst I was at Exon, I did frequently visit Mr. Richard Eliott in person, who formerly had been page to the Earle of Bathe, and when in his service I did often instruct and prepare him for the sacrament. Hee was put in prison for wilfully murthering Mr. Crymes, a gentleman of this country, and condemned to die, but had gotten a reprieve to the next assizes. I found him very tractable and serious. At a time when I was with him, were brought into the jayle three persons for a robbery committed on Mr. Morrice, the Exceter carrier, from whom they took 700*l.*† but hotly pursu'd

* The Deanery of Exeter, a subdivision of the archdeaconry, comprising the parishes of the city and a few others, is also called the deanery "of Christianity." We have never been able to meet with an explanation of the term. The vaunting title of the Montmorencys, "Premier Baron de la Chrétienté," is explained by some antiquaries to mean nothing but chief baron of the "Christianity," or ecclesiastical district of Paris. That rural deans were sometimes called *Decani Christianitatis*; see Cowel, *voce* Christianitatis Curia.

† This robbery is commemorated in a pamphlet entitled "The Great Robbery in the West; or the Innkeeper turned Highwayman: a perfect narrative, how an innkeeper near Exeter robbed the Exeter carrier of 600*l.* To which is added, Sad News from Gloucestershire: being a relation how a lion at Winchcombe devoured his keeper. 1678." Dr. Lake seems to dwell on the enormities of this Presbyterian rascal by way of set-off for the sins of his own pupil, the Earl of Bath's quondam page.

they dropt the money in a ditch; notwithstanding were apprehended. The ringleader of them was one Barnes, a notorious Presbyterian, who had been prosecuted in the consistory for not bringing his children to church to be baptised, and boldly said to my officiall, that he would quickly remove to some other place, where he might enjoy his God more securely. The evening hee went forth to execute his design hee pray'd with his family two hours, and told mee when I once spake to him, that hee had had assurance of his salvation these fourteen years.

FINIS.

INDEX.

CAMDEN SOCIETY,



FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

EARLY HISTORICAL AND LITERARY REMAINS.

At a General Meeting of the Camden Society held at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Monday the 3rd of May, 1847,

The Right Hon. Lord BRAYBROOKE in the chair,

His Lordship having opened the business of the Meeting,

The Secretary read the Report of the Council agreed upon at their meeting of the 17th April last, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the said Report be received and adopted, and that the Thanks of the Society be given to the Director and Council for their services.

The Thanks of the Society were also voted to the Editors of the Society's publications for the past year; and to the Local Secretaries.

The Secretary then read the Report of the Auditors agreed upon at their Meeting of the 1st May, whereupon it was

Resolved, that the said Report be received and adopted, and that the Thanks of the Society be given to the Auditors for their trouble.

The Thanks of the Society having then been voted to the Treasurer,

The Meeting proceeded to the election of Officers, when

The Right Hon. Lord BRAYBROOKE, F.S.A.

was elected PRESIDENT of the Society; and

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.
BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq. M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A.
JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Treas. F.S.A.
CHARLES PURTON COOPER, Esq. Q.C., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.
WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, Esq. F.S.A.
BOLTON CORNEY, Esq. M.R.S.L.
Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Sec. S.A.
The Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.
PETER LEVESQUE, Esq., F.S.A.
The Rev. HENRY HART MILMAN, M.A.
THOMAS JOSEPH PETTIGREW, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.
THOMAS STAPLETON, Esq. F.S.A.
WILLIAM JOHN THOMS, Esq. F.S.A. and
Sir HARRY VERNEY, Bart.

were elected as the COUNCIL; and

WILLIAM H. BLAAUW, Esq. M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, Jun. Esq. and
ROBERT LEMON, Esq. F.S.A.

were elected AUDITORS of the Society for the ensuing year.

Thanks were then voted to the Secretary; and to Lord BRAYBROOKE, for the interest he had always taken in the welfare of the Society, and for his able conduct in the Chair.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS, 1847.

AT a Meeting of the COUNCIL of the Camden Society held at No. 25, Parliament Street, Westminster, on Wednesday the 5th May, 1847,

The Rt. Hon. Lord BRAYBROOKE, the President, in the Chair;

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. was elected Director; JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. Treasurer; and WILLIAM J. THOMS, Esq. Secretary, for the Year next ensuing.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL,

ELECTED 2nd MAY, 1846.

THE COUNCIL of the Camden Society, elected on the 2nd of May, 1846, have great pleasure in announcing to the Society the gratifying fact that the investment standing in the name of the Trustees of the Society has, during the past year, been increased from £831 13*s.* 11*d.* to £877 10*s.* 9*d.* Three per cent. Consols.

The Council have added the following gentlemen to the List of Local Secretaries :—

SAMUEL TYMMS, Esq., for Bury St. Edmund's;
The Rev. W. MERRIMAN, for Frome;
JOHN COMPORT, Esq., F.S.A. for Rochester, in the room of the late William F. Harrison, Esq.; and
The Rev. ABRAHAM HUME, D.D., for Liverpool, in the room of the late Rev. Thomas Tattershall, D.D.

And they trust they shall not be considered as outstepping the limits of their proper duty if they again seek to impress upon gentlemen resident in the country, and possessed of local influence, how great service they may render to the Society by bringing it under the notice of such of their friends as are known to take an interest in the early literature, history, and antiquities of this country. Every Member of the Society may, indeed, contribute to extend its sphere of usefulness, which cannot be better promoted than by diffusing a knowledge of its existence and purposes by the circulation of Prospectuses and through the insertion in provincial news-

papers and similar channels of information, of notices of the published works, and announcements of the forthcoming publications of the Society. For it must be borne in mind that it is not sufficient to ensure the continued success of a Society of this description, that it should have been established with every prospect of permanence. The same energy which originally called it into existence, must be occasionally exerted in order to secure its continuance; and this is more especially necessary when it is considered how many similar bodies have originated out of the Camden Society. This circumstance, which is highly creditable to the Society, ought to impress upon its Members the necessity of displaying the same zeal for its maintenance as they evinced for its institution.

The Council have to regret the deaths, during the past year, of—

Rev. John Wareyn Darby, M.A.
Baldwin Fulford, Esq.
Right Honble. Thomas Grenville, F.S.A.
Alfred John Kempe, Esq. F.S.A.
William Knight, Esq. F.S.A.
John M'Hutchin, Esq.
William M'Mahon, Esq.
Edward Rudge, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.
Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Sodor and Man.
Rev. Charles Sutton, D.D.
John Sydenham, jun. Esq.
Rt. Honble. Sir Nicholas C. Tindal.
Walter Wilson, Esq.

The Council have, during the past year, added the following works to the List of suggested Publications:

A Commentary of the Services and Charges of William Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G. by his son Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G. with Documents illustrating the Biography of those Noblemen. Edited by Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart. M.P., F.R.S., &c.

Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, in the years 1289, 1290, with Illustrations from other and coeval Documents. To be edited by the Rev. John Webb, M.A., F.S.A.

The Chronicle of the Abbey of Peterborough; from a MS. in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. To be edited by Thomas Stapleton, Esq. V.P.S.A.

With reference to the last work they feel assured that the Members cannot but be gratified that the Camden Society should a second time prove the means of giving to the student of English History a document of which the importance is attested by the fact that it was one of those selected for publication by the late Record Commission. The Council have entrusted its editorship to Mr. Stapleton, to whom the Society have been recently indebted for the Liber de Antiquis Legibus, and they have done so in the confidence that he will discharge his editorial duties in such a manner as will justify the Council in requesting the Right Honble. the Lord Langdale, Her Majesty's Keeper of Records, an early and most distinguished Member of the Society, to permit them to publish from time to time such other transcripts, made for that Commission, as fall within the province of the Camden Society.

The publications issued during the past year have been—

De Antiquis Legibus Liber, a Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London, and of divers events of those times. Edited by THOMAS STAPLETON, Esq. F.S.A.

The Chronicle of Calais, temp. Hen. VII. and Hen. VIII. Edited by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A.

which belong to the Subscription of the preceding year; and

Polydore Vergil's English History, vol. I. to the Conquest. Edited by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Sec. S.A.

A Relation, or rather a True Account, of England, under Henry VII. Translated from the Italian of a Contemporary Venetian Nobleman, resident at the English Court, with Notes, by CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA SNEYD.

The Collegiate Church of Middleham, Documents relating to its Foundation and History. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM ATTHILL, Canon and Sub-Dean of Middleham.

These will be followed by the first volume of THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY, which will be delivered in return for the Subscription of the year now concluded.

The latter work has been undertaken by the Council in consequence of a difficulty which they have frequently experienced when documents of considerable interest have been offered to them for publication, but which were found to be of such limited extent as would not justify their being printed as separate volumes. The endeavours of the Council to vary the

character of the publications have always hitherto met with the approbation of the Society generally, and the Council look forward with some confidence to a favourable reception of the first volume of the Camden Miscellany. It will be found to contain new materials in illustration of our civil, ecclesiastical, and political history, and will possess in addition that variety which is ever agreeable—even in works partaking of an antiquarian and historical character.

By order of the Council,

THOMAS AMYOT, Director.
WILLIAM JOHN THOMS, Secretary.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS,

DATED 1ST MAY, 1847.

WE, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the Camden Society, report to the Society, that the Treasurer has exhibited to us an account of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society, from the 29th April, 1846, to the 1st May, 1847, and that we have examined the said accounts, with the vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we further report that the following is an accurate Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society during the period we have mentioned.

An ABSTRACT of the RECEIPTS and EXPENDITURE of THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

from the 29th April, 1846, to the 1st May, 1847.

Receipts	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's account	418	19	6
Received on account of members whose Subscriptions were in arrear at the last Audit	108	0	0
The like on account of Subscriptions due 1st May, 1846	805	0	0
One year's dividend on £831 13*s.* 11*d.* 3 per Cent. Consols, invested in the names of the Trustees of the Society, deducting property-tax	24	4	6
Compositions received from five Members	50	0	0
Total receipts for the year	£1,406	4	0

Expenditure	£.	s.	d.
Paid for the purchase of £45 16*s.* 10*d.* 3 per Cent. Consols, invested for the benefit of the Society	40	0	0
Paid for printing and paper of 1,250 copies of "Liber de Antiquis Legibus"	359	2	6
The like of 1,250 copies of "Chronicle of Calais"	183	3	9
The like of 1,250 copies of "Polydore Vergil"	203	3	0
The like of 1,250 copies of "The Relation of England"	92	19	0
The like on account of "The Lambeth Wills"	34	15	0
Paid for binding 1,200 copies of "Letters of the Duke of Perth"	45	12	0
The like for 1,200 copies of the "Liber de Antiquis Legibus"	62	8	0
The like for 1,200 copies of the "Chronicle of Calais"	50	8	0
The like for 1,200 copies of "Polydore Vergil"	50	8	0
The like for books of past years....................	10	14	0
Paid for the delivery and transmission of 1,200 copies of the "Liber de Antiquis Legibus," "Chronicle of Calais," "Polydore Vergil," and "Relation of England," at 2*d.* per book, with paper for wrappers, &c. and for Advertisements	63	8	10
Paid for Miscellaneous Printing, Lists of Members, &c.	23	7	0
Paid for Lithographic Fac-similes, with paper for same and printing..................................	17	9	9
Paid for Transcripts connected with works published or in progress	21	15	0
One year's payment for keeping Accounts and General Correspondence of the Society	52	10	0
Paid expenses of last General Meeting..............	2	8	6
Paid for postage, carriage of parcels, stationery, and other petty cash expenses	13	15	5
Cash balance, viz. Sums remaining in hand for Compositions £20 0 0			
Balance of subscriptions and other receipts 58 16 3			
	78	16	3
	£1,406	4	0

And we, the Auditors, further state, that the Treasurer has reported to us that, over and above the present balance of £78 16*s.* 3*d.* there are outstanding various subscriptions of Foreign Members, of Members resident in places distant from London, and of Members recently elected, which the Treasurer sees no reason to doubt will be shortly received.

Given under our hands this 1st day of May, 1847,

J. B. BERGNE. JNO. BRUCE. JNO. JOSEPH ELLIS.

MEMBERS OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

FOR THE

NINTH YEAR, ENDING 1st MAY, 1847.

Those Members to whose names (c.) *is prefixed have compounded for their Annual Subscriptions.*

The Members whose names are printed in Small Capitals were on the Council of the year.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRAYBROOKE, F.S.A., *President.*

(c.) H. R. H. PRINCE ALBERT OF SAXE-COBURG GOTHA, K.G., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THE MOST REV. AND RIGHT HON. THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD COTTENHAM, LL.D., F.R.S., LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON, D.C.L., PRES. R.S., F.S.A.

J. White Abbott, Esq. Exeter
Abraham Abell, Esq. Cork
Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Joseph Ablett, Esq. Llanbedr Hall
Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Acheson, M.P.
(c.) Sir Robert Shafto Adair
H. G. Adams, Esq. Chatham
John Adamson, Esq. Sec. S. A. Newc. *Local Secretary at Newcastle*
(c.) Rev. James Adcock, M.A.
The Adelphi Reading Society, Basinghall-street
Professor Dr. Adrian, Hesse Darmstadt
Wm. Harrison Ainsworth, Esq.
Ralph Ainsworth, Esq. M.D.
John Yonge Akerman, Esq. F.S.A.
William Aldam, Esq. M.P.
(c.) Edward Nelson Alexander, Esq. F.S.A. *Local Secretary at Halifax*
Robert Henry Allan, Esq. F.S.A.
George Edward Allen, Esq. Bath
Mr. William Allen
Franklin Allport, Esq.
Richard Almack, Esq. F.S.A.
Rev. Edward Constable Alston, M.A.
George Henry Ames, Esq. Bristol
Samuel Amory, Esq.
THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A. *Director*
Alexander Annand, Esq. F.S.A.
Thomas Chisholme Anstey, Esq.
Samuel Appleby, Esq.
George Appleyard, Esq.
M. le Chevalier Artaud, Membre de l'Institut de France
Robert John Ashton, Esq. F.L.S.
Sydney Aspland, Esq.
The Athenæum Club
Fenton Robinson Atkinson, Esq.
Rev. William Atthill, M.A. Deanery, Middleham, Yorkshire. *Local Secretary at Middleham*
Benjamin Austen, Esq.
Australasian Public Library
W. Scrope Ayrton, Esq. F.S.A.
James Bacon, Esq.
Thomas Bacon, Esq. Redlands, Reading
Edward Badeley, Esq. F.S.A.
Thomas Smith Badger, Esq.
Rt. Hon. Lord Bagot, LL.D., F.S.A.
James Evan Baillie, Esq.
George Baker, Esq. *Local Secretary at Northampton*
Rev. John Baldwin, M.A. Dalton
Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel, D.D. Bodley's Librarian, Oxford
Harwood W. Banner, Esq. Liverpool
W. G. J. Barker, Esq. Harmby, Leyburn, Yorkshire
(c.) George Barlow, Esq. Oldham
Benjamin Barnard, Esq.
E. C. G. Barnard, Esq.
John Barnard, Esq.
Keith Barnes, Esq.
Ralph Barnes, Esq. Exeter
Charles Frederick Barnwell, Esq. M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Rev. John Bartholomew, Morchard
Arthur Barr, Esq.
Rev. Henry Barry, Draycot
Mr. J. Bartlett, Blandford
William Bateman, Esq. R.N.
R. R. Bayley, Esq.
Richard Bayley, Esq. Castle Dike
Henry Ridley Beal, Esq.
John Beardmore, Esq. Uplands
His Grace the Duke of Bedford
John Thomas Bedford, Esq.
The Bedford Permanent Library
James Bell, Esq.
Robert Bell, Esq. Chiswick
Thomas Bell, Esq. F.R.S.
Charles Bellamy, Esq. D.C.L.
Samuel Beltz, Esq.
John Benet, jun. Esq.
Rev. Samuel Benson
Francis Benthall, Esq. F.S.A.
Henry Bentley, Esq.
John Bentley, Esq. Birch House
Michael Bentley, Esq.
Richard Bentley, Esq.
Peter S. Benwell, Esq. Henley
John Brodribb Bergne, Esq. F.S.A. *Auditor*
The Royal Library, Berlin
Charles William de Bernardy, Esq.
Samuel Berridge, Esq. Leicester
(c.) The Rev. John Besly, D.C.L. Vicar of Benton, Northumberland
Sir William Betham, Ulster King of Arms, F.S.A., M.R.I.A. *Local Secretary at Dublin*
Richard Bethell, Esq. M.P. Rise, near Beverley
Edward Bevan, Esq.
La Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris
Robert Bickersteth, Esq. Liverpool
John Bidwell, Esq. F.S.A.
Leonard Shelford Bidwell, Esq. F.S.A.
Rev. George Augustus Biedermann, Rector of Dauntsey, Wilts.
Arthur Biggs, Esq. Bristol
(c.) John Billing, Esq. Reading

Henry Back, Esq. Trinity College, Cambridge
E. C. G. Barnard, Esq.
Samuel H. Bindon, Esq.
William Bird, Esq. Rock Park
Thomas Birkbeck, Esq.
John Birkbeck, Esq. Anley House
The Birmingham Public Library
W. H. Blaauw, Esq. Beechland
John Blachford, Esq.
William Black, Esq.
John Burgoyne Blackett, Esq.
(c.) Rev. Joseph William Blakesley, M.A. *Local Secretary at Ware, Herts.*
Michael Bland, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.
Venble. George Bland, M.A., Archdeacon of Lindisfarne
Charles Blandy, Esq. Reading
(c.) John Jackson Blandy, Esq. *Local Secretary at Reading*
William Blandy, Esq. Reading
Robert Willis Blencowe, Esq. M.A. The Hooke, near Lewes
Octavian Blewitt, Esq. Secretary to the Literary Fund Society
(c.) Rev. Philip Bliss, D.C.L., F.S.A., Registrar of the Univ. of Oxford. *Local Secretary at Oxford*
Bindon Blood, Esq. F.R.S.E., F.S.A., Scot., M.R.I.A. Ennis, Ireland
Edward Blore, Esq. D.C.L., F.S.A.
B. Blundell, Esq. Temple
John Blunt, Esq.
Rev. Wm. Blunt, B.A. Under Master of Merchant-Taylors' School
Miss Bockett, Southcote Lodge, Berks
Henry G. Bohn, Esq.
Rev. J. A. Bolster, MA., M.R.I.A. *Local Secretary at Cork*
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B. W. Booth, Esq. Manchester
John Booth, Esq. Barton on Irwell
Mr. Lionel Booth
Rev. Miles Galloway Booty
Rt. Hon. Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Knt. M.A.
Rev. Joseph Bosworth, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A. *Local Secretary at Derby*
(c.) BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq. M.P.' F.R.S., F.S.A.
Lieut. Bowden, 22nd Foot
Miss Bower, Doncaster
Rev. Thomas Frere Bowerbank, M.A. Vicar of Chiswick
George Bowyer, Esq. D.C.L., F.S.A.
Mark Boyd, Esq.
David Bradberry, Esq.
The Subscription Library, Bradford, Yorkshire

Robert Greene Bradley, Esq. Bencher of Grey's Inn. *Local Secretary at Lancaster*
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Humphrey Brandreth, Esq. Houghton House, Beds.
Edward Wedlake Brayley, Esq. F.S.A.
George Brice, Esq. Queen's Coll. Oxf.
John Bright, Esq. M.D.
John Ruggles Brise, Esq. Spains Hall
Charles Bristed, Esq. Trin. Coll. Camb.
Thomas Broadwood, Esq.
William Brockedon, Esq. F.R.S.
William Bromet, M.D., F.S.A.
(c.) Right Hon. the Lord Brooke.
Francis Capper Brooke, Esq. Ufford, Place, Suffolk
Charles Bros, Esq.
The Right Hon. Lord Brougham and Vaux, F.R.S.
Rev. John Brown, M.A. Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambidge
Robert Brown, Esq. Bishopwearmouth
Rev. Meredith Brown, Incumbent of Chiltre, Wilts
Samuel Cowper Brown, Esq. F.S.A. Shillingford Cross, near Exeter
Samuel Wm. Browne, Esq. Lewisham
William Henry Browne, Esq. Lewisham
Rt. Hon. Sir James L. Knight Bruce, Vice-Chancellor, F.R.S., F.S.A.
(c.) John Bruce, Esq. F.S.A. Hyde House, Minchinhampton. *Local Secretary, and Auditor*
The Royal Library, Brussels
Rev. Guy Bryan, M.A., S.A.A. Rector of Woodham Walter, Essex. *Local Secretary at Maldon*
Mr. John Bryant
Walter Buchanan, Esq.
Henry T. Buckle, Esq.
George Buckton, Esq. Oakfield
Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Bunbury, K.C.B., F.S.A.
John Burder, Esq. F.S.A.
William Burge, Esq. Q.C., M.A., D.C.L.
John William Burgon, Esq.
James Burn, Esq. W. S. Edinburgh
Ven. Chas. Parr Burney, D.D. F.R.S., F.S.A. Archdeacon of St. Alban's
John Burrell, Esq. Durham
Robert Burrell, Esq. Durham
Edmund Burrow, Esq.
Decimus Burton, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.
John Hill Burton, Esq. Advocate
John M. Burton, Esq. Greenwich
Johnson Atkinson Busfield, Esq. Bradford, Yorkshire

Rev. Thomas Byrth, D.D., F.S.A., Rector of Wallasey, Cheshire
Benjamin Bond Cabbell, Esq. M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Frederick Caldwell, Esq.
Rt. Hon. Lord Campbell
Union Society, Cambridge
J. S. Cardale, Esq. Leicester
The Cardiff Institution
(c.) The Rev. Edward Cardwell, D.D. CAMDEN'S Professor of Ancient History, Oxford
W. Henry Pole Carew, Esq. Anthony
(c.) Peter Stafford Carey, Esq. M.A.
Rt. Hon. the Earl of Carlisle, F.R.S.
Edward John Carlos, Esq.
Rev. John Carr, M.A. Fellow of Balliol college, Oxford
William Thomas Carr, Esq.
John Carter, Esq. Coventry
George Alfred Carthew, Esq. East Dereham, Norfolk
(c.) Cornelius Cartwright, Esq. Dudley
W. C. Cartwright, Esq.
Rev. W. Carus, M.A. Fellow of Trin. Coll. Camb.
The Rt. Hon. Earl Cawdor, F.R.S.
Edward P. Cearns, Esq. Liverpool
Mr. James Chaffin, Islington
Thomas Chapman, Esq. F.R.S. F.S.A.
William Chapman, Esq. Richmond
(c.) William Chappell, Esq. F.S.A.
Sir William Chatterton, Bart.
J. M. G. Cheek, Esq. Evesham. *Local Secretary at Evesham*
Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chichester
(c.) John Walbanke Childers, Esq. M.P.
Francis Cholmeley, Esq. F.S.A.
Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Sec. N.S., Librarian of Sion College, &c., &c.
Henry Christy, Esq.
F. Churchill, Esq.
Charles Clark, Esq. Middle Temple
Rev. Francis Foreman Clark, B.A., Townfield House, Staffordshire
George Thomas Clark, Esq.
William Clark, M.D. Professor of Anatomy, Cambridge
Joseph Clarke, Esq.
Thomas Clarke, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.
Rev. Patrick Clason, D.D. Edinb. For the Library of the Free Church of Scotland
Rev. Jacob Clements, M.A. Upton St. Leonard's, near Gloucester
(c.) Rev. Alfred Butler Clough, B.D., F.S.A. Jesus College, Oxford
Charles Thornton Coathupe, Esq. Wraxhall, near Bristol
James Cobb, Esq. Yarmouth

J. Ingram Cobbin, Esq.
Sir Wm. S. R. Cockburn, Bart. M.A.
William Colbourne, Esq. Chippenham
Rev. Edward Coleridge, M.A.
Francis George Coleridge, Esq. Ottery St. Mary, Devon
The Hon. Sir John Taylor Coleridge, one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench, M.A.
JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. Treas. S.A. Director of the Shakespeare Society. *Treasurer*
Mr. Edwin Collings, Bath
Edward Collins, Esq.
Thomas Combe, Esq. Oxford
Rev. C. Comberbach, Stonor
John Comport, Esq. F.S.A. Strood. *Local Secretary for Rochester*
The Library of Congress, Washington
(c.) Rev. John Connop, M.A. Bradfield Hall, Berkshire
Edward Conroy, Esq. M.A., M.R.I.A.
William Conway, Esq. Rathmines
Lord Albert Conyngham, F.S.A.
William Henry Cooke, Esq. Barrister-at-Law, Temple
Charles Henry Cooper, Esq. Coroner for Cambridge
CHARLES PURTON COOPER, Esq. Q.C., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Rev. James Cooper, M.A. St. Paul's School
Thomas Henry Cooper, Esq. F.L.S.
WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, Esq. F.S.A.
The Royal Library of Copenhagen
The Lord Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross
George Richard Corner, Esq. F.S.A.
(c.) BOLTON CORNEY, Esq. M.R.S.L. Barnes
Rev. Tho. Corser, Stand, Manchester
Rev. G. E. Corrie, B.D. Fellow of Cath. Hall, and Norrisian Prof. of Divin. in the Univ. of Cambridge
Right Hon. Countess Cornwallis
The Right Hon. Lord Courtenay
Andrew Coventry, Esq. Advocate
Rev. M. Cowie, M.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.
William Crafter, Esq. Gravesend
(c.) James T. Gibson Craig, Esq.
George L. Craik, Esq.
Very Rev. John Anthony Cramer, D.D. Dean of Carlisle
Rev. Richard Crawley, M.A. Steeple Ashton, Wiltshire
Charles Crawley, Esq.
Sir Archer Denman Croft, Bart.
Rev. Richard Croft, Vicar of Hartburn, Northumberland
Anthony Crofton, Esq. Barrister
John Crofts, Esq. Bradford, York
The Rt. Hon. John Wilson Croker, LL.D., F.R.S.
THOMAS CROFTON CROKER, Esq. F.S.A., M.R.I.A.
James Crosby, Esq.
Crosby Hall Literary and Scientific Institution
John Cross, Esq. Barrister-at-Law
James Crossley, Esq. *Local Secretary at Manchester*
James Dodsley Cuff, Esq.
Rev. Samuel Cumming, B.A. Old Romney
George Godfrey Cunningham, Esq. Redcol, East Lothian
Peter Cunningham, Esq. Treasurer of the Shakespeare Society
Miss Richardson Currer, Eshton Hall
Henry Curwen, Esq. Workington Hall, Cumberland
The Rev. Henry Curwen, Rector of Workington
The Hon. Edward Cecil Curzon
Edward Dalton, Esq. LL.D., F.S.A.
Thomas Dalton, Esq. Cardiff
George Daniel, Esq.
Rev. John Wareyn Darby, Framlingham. [Died Aug. 4, 1846.]
George Webb Dasent, Esq. M.A.
William Davie, Esq. Town Clerk of Glasgow
James Edward Davies, Esq.
Robert Davies, Esq. F.S.A. Town Clerk of York
Richard Davies, jun. Esq. Llangefni
Thomas Stephens Davies, Esq. F.R.S. L. and Ed. F.S.A.
David Elisha Davy, Esq. Ufford, Suffolk. *Local Secretary*
Matthew Dawes, Esq. F.G.S.
Vesey Thomas Dawson, Esq.
Rev. Arthur Dayman, M.A. Shillingstone Rectory, Blandford
Charles Deane, Esq.
Rev. J. Bathurst Deane, M.A., F.S.A.
Kenyon Dearden, Esq.
Right Hon. Earl de Grey, Pres of R. Inst. Br. Architects, F.S.A.
Rev. D. C. Delafosse, M.A.
Philip Chilwell De la Garde, Esq.
Mons. Jules Desnoyers, Sec. de la Soc. de l'Histoire de France
His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., D.C.L.
F. H. Dickenson, Esq. M.P.
William Dickson, Esq. Edinburgh
Count Maurice Dietrichstein, Prefect of the Imp. Library at Vienna
William Dike, Esq.
Charles Wentworth Dilke, Esq. LL.B.
Joseph C. Dimsdale, Esq.
(c.) John Disney, Esq. The Hyde, Ingatestone
(c.) George Dodd, Esq. M.P., F.S.A.
Charles Cooper Doggett, Esq.
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